

Impressive in leather

Anthony Hobson

DENISE GID
Catalogue des reliures françaises estampées à froid (XV^e-XVI^e siècle) de la Bibliothèque Mazarine
Two volumes, 725pp. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 560fr the set. 2222 03388 8

It was not until after the mid-1530s that gilt leather bindings became at all common in France. Decoration had before then normally been in blind. Various groups can be distinguished: a Carolingian group, identified by Jean Vezin; the Romanesque bindings, studied by G. D. Hobson and most recently by C. F. de Hamel; the fourteenth and fifteenth-century covers decorated with rows of repeated figured tools, potentially of great interest but still awaiting their historian; the gothic panels of the early sixteenth century, described also by Hobson and by Robert Brun; and the roll-tooled bindings of the same period. Of the last the *Catalogue des reliures françaises estampées à froid (XV^e-XVI^e siècle)* de la Bibliothèque Mazarine is the first systematic investigation.

Denise Gid calls these blind-stamped bindings "reliures de protection" and takes a poor view of their aesthetic qualities. It is true that after centuries of wear most of them have a shabby look, but when fresh from the binder's shop they must have made a lively and attractive impression. The panels were often finely engraved with popular saints or familiar scenes from the Bible calculated to appeal to an intending purchaser. Some conveyed simple messages, such as the Flemish pair of Hope matched with the suicide of Lucretia, symbolizing Despair.

The Bibliothèque Mazarine was an ideal choice for Mme Gid's research. Based on Mazarin's bequest to the Collège des Quatre Nations and augmented at the Revolution by books from Parisian religious houses, its holdings escaped the ravages of nineteenth-century rebinding through the parsimony of a curator who had the covers patched by the library attendants. The present *Conservateur en chef* deplores the harlequin-like effect thus produced, but at least the original ornament has in consequence survived.

This catalogue contains 700 entries arranged two or three to a page. Each records the author, title (or titles, if the volume is a collective one), printer, place and date of printing, and format; the dimensions and material - usually calf or sheep - of the bindings; details of the spine, edge-decoration and clasps or ties. The pattern of the ornament is indicated, with the tools, rolls or panels employed. Next come ownership inscriptions, followed by a list of similar bindings in French libraries. The presumed place of binding completes the description. Each entry is illustrated on the facing

page with a reduced rubbing of part of one cover. Some tools and all panels and rolls are reproduced on ninety-eight plates in the second volume, the rolls being classified by subject on the model of J. Basil Oldham's *English Blind-stamped Bindings*. There are indexes of books and manuscripts, of authors, of printers arranged alphabetically and by town, of owners and of binding shops.

It would be hard to conceive of a catalogue planned on a more generous scale. To give only one statistic: Gid illustrates 687 rolls, over 50 per cent more than Oldham listed for the whole of England. Nevertheless this is not the "French Oldham". It is the record of a single library and makes no claim to be comprehensive. This has its disadvantages: some of the rolls are hard to "read", partly because they differ only in minute detail from others, partly because the example rubbed was in poor condition and the rubbing is therefore blurred. But it also has great advantages. Oldham presented his conclusions magisterially, without indicating where the original bindings were to be found or what works they contained. Here the information is set out in full and the reader can make his own deductions.

A detailed catalogue of part of an ancient library surviving in original condition cannot fail to provide information about book collecting and the book trade. The sample throws light, for instance, on the ability of Parisian presses to meet local demand; 59 per cent of the books bound, and therefore sold, in the capital were also printed there, 10 per cent elsewhere in France, 15 per cent in Italy and 11 per cent in the German language area. There are numerous discoveries: a Romanesque binding unknown to Hobson (though seen by de Hamel), bought by an early owner from "Blavius, the beadle" (thus recalling the Archdeacon of St Andrews, who as late as the eighteenth century was the university book-binder); a binding with plaquettes by the Master of the Orpheus Legend; three unrecorded panels; a new Grolier (Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis*, Vienne 1518); and books that belonged to Étienne Dolet in prison before his execution, to the humanist printer Henri Estienne, to Rabelais and to the Lyonesse collector Benoît Le Court.

Two hundred and fifty-six sixteenth-century bindings are ascribed to Paris, sixty-eight to Lyon, six to Troyes, one each to Reims and Rouen. Other attributions are to provinces (Champagne, Normandy, Berry) or to larger geographical units (Centre, East, West). These judgments are the result of many years of research. By 1972 Gid had already examined 5,000 volumes. She has explored provincial libraries and archives, and studied the collections of two priors of the Sorbonne, Johann Heynlin's, now in Basel, and Ludwig Ber's in Colmar. Her attributions are based on a combination of evidence: watermarks, early ownership, regional differences of technique, which as a working binder she is ideally equipped to distinguish. In articles published

elsewhere she has identified the *matériel* of Macé Panthoul, a bookseller and binder of Troyes, and of an anonymous Lyonesse shop patronized by Benoît Le Court.

It must be admitted, however, that she ignores previous literature and some of her attributions fly in the face of received opinions. She ascribes the Grolier binding to Lyon, at first sight an attractive theory, since the collector might have bought the book in 1520 when he was in Lyon for his marriage to Anne Brignonnet; but the binding belongs to a group which Howard Nixon convincingly associated with the Parisian bookseller Pierre Roffet. She attributes the panel-stamped bindings of three works by Haymo of Halberstadt to "Haute Normandie". Belgian scholars have established that two of the panels were used in Antwerp; the third, apparently unrecorded, seems also to be of Netherlandish origin. All

Bound to interest

David McKitterick

GEORGES COLIN (Editor)
De libris compactis miscellanea
437pp. Aubel: Gason/Brussels: Bibliotheca Wittockiana. 4,900 Bfr.

In the last two years the Bibliotheca Wittockiana, a museum and research institute founded on the acquisitions of the Brussels collector Michael Wittock, has become established as a vigorous centre for the study of the history of bookbinding. Early last year it played host to a notable exhibition (accompanied by a no less notable catalogue) of Belgian fine binding in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (the exhibition moved on to the Arsenal in Paris). *De libris compactis miscellanea*, the first in the series *Studia Bibliothecae Wittockianae*, ranges more widely, its eclecticism and the multinationality of the contents reflected in the choice of Latin for the title. The editor, Georges Colin, is both director of the library and a senior member of the Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, and his own energies, coupled with those of the publisher, Pierre M. Gason, have attracted a formidable array of contributors.

Of the fifteen essays, students of the English book trade will find Mirjam Foot's account of the few known general price lists agreed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries especially suggestive: they offer much to help unravel the economic structure of the retail book trade during this period - a rather different question from the bespoke bindings that often command attention. This is important new ground, known before but not explored, and her study epitomizes the approach of many of the articles, which see bookbinding less as a minor decorative art than as a subject to be properly understood only in relation to many

three volumes belonged to a priest of the Omer, then a part of Flanders. Another panel stamped binding is described as "Plaques à Caen". The panels may indeed have been engraved in Normandy, but they were owned by Richard Faques, a London stationer of Norman origin; one bears his trademark, a maiden's head. The binding is English; it contains an early English owner's name and the endless comes from an indulgence printed by Pynson.

Other examples could be cited, but they do not detract from the value and importance of Denise Gid's achievement. Her explorations have been on the scale of a Livingstone; she has filled in, at least in outline, what was previously a blank on the map. We must hope that her colleagues will eventually provide complete corpora of French rolls - a massive task, and, somewhat less daunting, of panels.

Other facets of the history of the book, the assumption, for example, is fundamental to Ian Doyle's study of the origins of books longed to Durham Cathedral Priory and Anthony Hobson's of dealings between book binders and booksellers in sixteenth-century Rome. It is clear, too, in the enormous and (taking up over a quarter of the entire book) by Walter Neuhauser of the late-sixteenth-century Tyrolean printer and binder Gals Dingemauer, which offers much on the contemporary book trade in the area as well.

Other contributors seek ways forward by different means - most obviously, perhaps, Konrad von Rabenau in a plea for a "Haebler", to replace Konrad Haebler's *Handbuch* of sixteenth-century stamped bindings published in 1928. In the first essay of all, Jean Vezin approaches his subject from a technical viewpoint, following in the footsteps of the late Graham Pollard and examining the structure of a collection of *libelli* assembled in the thirteenth century and now in the Bodleian Library. In Oxford, too, Paul Morgan draws on his own unrivalled knowledge of the local library to offer supplementary notes to the work of J. B. Oldham and others on English blind-stamped bindings. Two general essays will be turned to repeatedly for enlightenment. Neither Albert Derolez on goffered edges nor Gilles Barber on French binding vocabulary in the eighteenth century claims to be comprehensive, and both tackle subjects that deserve more attention.

Few recent collections of articles on any aspect of the history of the book have commanded quite such an internationally distinguished body of authorities. The only real jarring note is the deplorable lack of an index. The quality of illustration, whether of blind-stamping, gilt tooling, or pencil rubbing, is generally outstanding. The Bibliotheca Wittockiana (whose address is 21-23 rue du Bernal, 1180 Brussels) has made a most auspicious beginning.

TLS

The Times Literary Supplement

FRIDAY 10 JANUARY 1986 No 4,319 80p

Gifts and obscurities of Karl Mannheim
The Nehru-Gandhi dynasty
Mark Bonham Carter: politics and the police
Julian Symons on the Inman diaries
Yoruba medicine; English plague
The discreet flattery of Pompeo Batoni
Peter Huchel's poems; Robert Walser's micrograms



TLS Classified

Place advertisements write or telephone:
Cheryl Dennyett, The Classified Department, The Times Literary Supplement
Priory House, St. John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX. Tel: 01-253 3000 Telex: 264971.

Books and Prints

ARAB WORLD BOOKS - Rare and out-of-print Catalogue of Arabic books, 1985. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

BOOKS - Retiring? Moving? Planning your future? 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

LEARNED Scientific and Art - Illustrated by N. Johnson. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

BOOKFINDING - Find and Buy. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

FOR YOUR STATISTICAL BOOK - Call for New Catalogue. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

EASTERN EUROPE - Catalogue. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

New Books

MARTIN WALSH - *Myself*. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

AMERICAN - Out-of-print. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

ABBY BOOKS - Specialists in. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

REVIEW - Copies and other. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

VERBAYM - The Language. 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

Periodicals - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

Personal

SALARIES PERSONAL - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

IMMEDIATE ADVANCES - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

HOLIDAYS & Accommodation - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

PRICED HOUSES - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

Overseas - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

NEW BOOKS SECTION - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

PROMOTELOW BUDGET TITLES ON THE BACK PAGE OF THE TLS - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

At very low cost you can reach thousands of readers in libraries and universities throughout the world. - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

Every week the NEW BOOKS SECTION on the back page of the TLS provides publishers with an excellent opportunity to reach thousands of readers with small promotional budgets. - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

For as little as £2.50, simply phone over the copy, author, publisher and ISBN to CHERYL DENNETT on 01-253 3000, ext 212. - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

***The rates are £1.50 per line minimum of 2 lines.** - 112pp. 0254 0254 0254

Become a new subscriber to the *TLS*, or give a subscription to a friend, and take advantage of our special offer:

THE 56 WEEK YEAR

Rates (including postage):
UK £40, Europe £59,
USA and Canada US\$75,
Rest of the world £55 surface mail,
£72 air mail.

Please send the *TLS* for a year and four weeks to:

Name

Address

.....

.....

.....

and to:

Name

Address

.....

.....

.....

I enclose my cheque for

made payable to

Times Newspapers Limited

Send this coupon with your cheque to:

Lesley Griffiths,

The Times Literary Supplement,

Priority House,

St John's Lane,

London EC1M 4BX.

(m)

The Times Literary Supplement

January 10 1986 Priority House, St John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX

Contents

- AFRICA 45, ANCIENT HISTORY 44, ART 40, BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS 41-2, ECONOMICS 31, FICTION 35, GERMAN HISTORY 32, GERMAN LITERATURE 33, INDIA 43, MEDIEVAL STUDIES 46, NATURAL HISTORY 47, POETRY 34, POLITICS 30, SOCIAL STUDIES 27-8.
- Robert Brown: *The Intellectual Development of Karl Mannheim - Culture, politics and planning* 24
Serge Moscovici: *The Age of the Crowd - A historical treatise on mass psychology* 28
John O'Neill: *Five Bodies - The human shape of modern society* 28
A Winter's Tale (poem) 8
Robert Reiner: *The Politics of the Police*
John Baxter and Laurence Kofman: *Police - The constitution and the community*
Roger Geary: *Policing Industrial Disputes - 1893-1985*
Sarah Spencer: *Called to Account - The case for police accountability in England and Wales* 29
Tariq Ali: *The Nehrus and the Gandhis - An Indian dynasty*
B.R. Nanda: *The Nehrus - Motilal and Jawaharlal*
Jawaharlal Nehru: *Glimpses of World History* 30
C. von Fürer-Haimendorf: *Tribal Populations and Cultures of the Indian Subcontinent* 30
Jan Adam: *Employment and Wage Policies in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary since 1950*
Ivan T. Berend and Gyorgy Ranki: *The Hungarian Economy in the Twentieth Century* 31
Nigel Swain: *Collective Farms Which Work?* 31
Williamson Murray: *Lufthaffe* 32
Wilhelm Deist (Editor): *The German Military in the Age of Total War*
Arden Bucholz: *Hans Delbrück and the German Military Establishment - War Images in conflict*
Jurgen Kocka: *Facing Total War - German Society 1914-1918* 32
Peter Huchel: *Gesammelte Werke* 33
Robert Walser: *Aus dem Bleistiftgebiet - Mikrogramme 1924-25*
Mark Harman (Editor): *Robert Walser Rediscovered - Stories, fairy-tale plays, and critical responses* 34
Anne Stevenson: *The Fiction-Makers* 34
Peter Reading: *Ukelele Music - Poems* 34
Alasdair Paterson: *The Floating World - Selected poems 1973-1982* 34
John Fuller: *The Adventures of Speedfall* 35
Brian McCabe: *The Lipstick Circus* 35
Jessie Kesson: *Where the Apple Ripens* 35
André Brink: *The Ambassador* 35
American notes 36
The periodicals, 34; 2 PLUS 2 36
Letters on The Brothers Adam, 'Shall I Die?', 'Monuments and Maidens' etc 37
- Commentary
The Great Canadian Novel (Radio 4) 38
King Solomon's Mines (Classic Cinema, Haymarket) 38
Five Festival (ICA, Cinema) 38
Among this week's contributors 38
Sam Sheppard: *A Lie of the Mind* (Promenade Theatre, New York)
Curse of the Starving Class (Theatre 890, New York)
Fool For Love (Various cinemas) 39
Masterpieces of Reality: French 17th Century Painting (Leicester Museum and Art Gallery) 39
Louise Page: *Beauty and the Beast* (Old Vic) 39
Author, Author 39
- Anthony M. Clark: *Pompeo Batoni - A complete catalogue of his works with an introductory text*
Alison Ribeiro: *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730-1790, and its Relation to Fashion in Portraiture* 40
Thomas Mallon: *A Book of One's Own - People and their diaries*
Daniel Aaron (Editor): *The Inman Diary - A public and private confession* 41-2
Paul John Eakin: *Fictions in Autobiography - Studies in the art of self-invention* 42
O.A. Golitsenko, S.A. Rozanova, B.M. Shumova, I.A. Pokrovskaya and N.I. Azarova (Editors): *The Diaries of Sofia Tolstaya* 42
Janet Frame: *The Envy from Mirror City - Autobiography* 3 42
Paul Slack: *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* 43
John Wilson: *Religion - A life of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, Captain-General of all the Parliament's forces in the English Civil War, creator and Commander of the New Model Army*
Peter Young: *Naseby 1645 - The campaign and the battle* 43
David Zaret: *The Heavenly Contract - Ideology and organisation in pre-revolutionary Puritanism*
Edith Mary Wightman: *Gallia Belgica* 44
Entrée chien et loop (poem) 44
Anthony D. Buckley: *Yoruba Medicine* 45
Wim van Binsbergen and Matthew Schoffeleers (Editors): *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion*
Eli Thomas Lawson: *Religion in Africa - Traditions in transformation* 45
Jesse M. Gellrich: *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages - Language theory, mythology and fiction*
Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Editors): *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*
Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday 46
Stephen C. Ferriolo: *The Origins of the University: The schools of Paris and their critics, 1100-1215* 46
Thomas D. Seeley: *Honeybee Ecology - A study of adaptation in social life* 47
Oleg Polunin and Maria Walters: *A Guide to the Vegetation of Britain and Europe* 47
Razim S. Doud and Ali Al-Rawi: *Flora of Kuwait - Volume 1 - Dicotyledonae* 47
Index of books reviewed 47
- Cover picture
"Knebe mit Flügeln", about 1932, by Jankel Adler; it is reproduced from *Jankel Adler 1895-1944* (256pp. Cologne DuMont, DM78.377017719)

Under the aspect of the Zeitgeist

Robert Brown

COLIN LOADER

The Intellectual Development of Karl Mannheim: Culture, politics, and planning 261pp. Cambridge University Press. £22.50. 0521 265673

It is not easy to do justice to the variegated career of Karl Mannheim. Born a Hungarian Jew, he made his reputation as a German social theorist at the universities of Heidelberg and Frankfurt in the 1920s, and then took refuge in Britain in 1933 from the Nazis, became a lecturer in Sociology at the London School of Economics and finally, for the year before his death in 1947, the influential and eminent Professor of Sociology and Education at the Institute of Education in London.

Always a reformative Marxist, meta-historian and social philosopher, Mannheim was also a founder of the sociology of knowledge, sometimes an economic planner and often a social psychologist concerned with the future of British education. His publications run to a dozen volumes; he was for ten years a leading member of the Moot, a group of Christian intellectuals - John Middleton Murry, Christopher Dawson and T. S. Eliot among them - that discussed the possible role of Christianity in mass-democracies; and he was a tireless advocate of the social benefits of sociological knowledge. In the first two decades after his death, the attention paid to Mannheim's ideas was relatively small, especially when compared to that lavished on his compatriot and mentor, Georg Lukács. In the past decade, however, two of his early monographs have been translated and published in *Structures of Thinking*, there have been a number of books in English on Mannheim, and his views on ideology and on the sociology of knowledge continue to be referred to in the professional journals.

Colin Loader, the author of this latest study of Mannheim's work, agrees that Mannheim is "one of the most underrated and misunderstood thinkers of the twentieth century", and undertakes to correct this by describing how the various phases of Mannheim's thought developed as attempts to deal with a specifiable set of persisting concerns and problems. While *The Intellectual Development of Karl Mannheim* is avowedly descriptive and classificatory rather than critical and evaluative, Loader obviously thinks that Mannheim's reputation will rise as his views become better understood. This belief is, perhaps, unduly optimistic, for a considerable part of Mannheim's attractiveness as a social thinker, especially in his early work, lies in the tantalizing impression he often gives of referring to, and relying upon, important truths that lie just beyond the limits of the reader's comprehension. To understand all may be to forgive much less. Thus in *Utopia*, his best-known book, Mannheim said that "ideology" (in the more general sense of the term in which it refers to someone's world-view), "presupposes simply that there is a correspondence between a given social situation and a given perspective, point of view". But what sort of connection, or correspondence, is this? In the mid-eighteenth century Helvetius is said to have claimed that "Our ideas are the necessary consequences of the societies in which we live". Mannheim spent years in trying to specify the ways in which a world-view is, or can be, the consequence of its adherents' social situation. The claim has an initial plausibility; yet the more Mannheim elaborated on it the more mysterious became the nature of the connection. In the end, he offered only (autologies and) commonplaces: for example, the tautology that "the historical and social genesis of an idea would only be irrelevant to its ultimate validity if the temporal and social conditions of its emergence had no effect on its content and form"; and the commonplace that a *Weltanschauung* is only the expression of the entire life of a social group.

There is a similar obscurity in Mannheim's notion of a "synthesis of perspectives". This is the suggestion that each distinct social group or class in a society interprets social life in general, and the common good in particular, from the perspective of its own position in the system. Each such perspective gives rise to a different "current of thought" - a particular kind of utopia or political self-deception, or self-interested action, for example - and the conflict between these different currents leads people in modern societies to be sceptical about the possibility of any objective knowledge concerning their social life. Marxists, said Mannheim, had first created, and then used, this scepticism in order to reveal the class basis and hence limited applicability of their opponents' views. Yet Marxists could not prevent themselves from being similarly judged, despite Marx's own claim that the proletariat was a universal class because its demands for the restoration of the social conditions of human dignity applied to everyone.

In rejecting this claim Mannheim proposed a different candidate as the guardian of objective knowledge. This was the free-floating intelligentsia - free-floating because it was so heterogeneous in social composition and so varied in the perspectives it embodied that the

entire society was its constituency. The intelligentsia was the only social group whose members were in a position to understand all perspectives, and then to translate the terms of one perspective into those of another, thus filtering out their common errors, and leaving as a residue a set of competing world-views. These could then be critically compared and "synthesized" by the "detached intellectuals" into the most adequate *Weltanschauung* available at that time and place. To be adequate in these respects amounts, for Mannheim, to recognizing, and being compatible with, the fundamental social forces and trends of the historical period in question. It is to understand their direction and to participate in their evolution. But what this account leaves totally unclear is, on the one hand, how strongly compelling, and perhaps contradictory, perspectives are to be homogenized and, on the other hand, how the basic social trends can be identified independently of any given perspective or, indeed, of the synthesis of all perspectives. The synthesis cannot be judged as adequate until the basic trends are identified, and they cannot be identified in the absence of an adequate perspective. How are we to begin?

Loader bypasses this problem and many others without critical comment. Yet it is perfectly clear that Mannheim first absorbed from some of his mentors - Simmel, Lukács, Scheler - and then elaborated, much of the confusion that he was dedicated to dispelling. In an early

essay he asks: "Is it possible to determine the global outlook of an epoch in an objective, scientific fashion? Or are all characterizations of such a global outlook necessarily empty, gratuitous speculations?" Mannheim's affirmative answer was never seriously in doubt since he held the common view that reference to *Zeitgeist* was an essential feature of understanding the cultural life of a period, that the way to understand or interpret any specific changes in art styles, for example, was in the end to relate them to a particular global outlook. But if he had given a negative answer, and taken into account the strong grounds for doing so - that global outlooks are never any more than selected aspects - he would have spared himself many unnecessary puzzles. He began by holding the ordinary Marxist view that Western societies were facing a crisis - economic, social and cultural - as a result of the transformation by capitalism of traditional communities into modern civil societies. To

crucially dependent on the power of a set of social planners to carry out wholesale and long-term reforms. Because he specifically rejected piecemeal social engineering, it is somewhat misleading of Loader to defend him against Sir Karl Popper's famous attack on holistic engineering in *The Poverty of Historicism* by retorting that Mannheim did not, as Popper did, "equate the attempt to understand the total structure of society with the necessity of changing society in its totality". This is obviously not the entire truth since Loader himself immediately goes on to paraphrase Mannheim as saying, in *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, that "planning, like tradition, was able to grasp society as a whole and, like invention, was able to cope with social change". But if planners are able to do what Popper argued that they could not do - allow for unforeseen consequences and create democratic personalities - and if Western capitalist societies require, according to Mannheim, very extensive and centrally planned renovation, then why should Mannheim's planners now equate "grasping" society as a whole with acting to change society as a whole? Are large-scale planners to be forbidden to make large-scale changes?

Loader divides Mannheim's work into three main periods: the early phase, up to 1924, when he was interested in the relationships between cultural life and philosophy; the middle phase, represented by *Utopia* (1929), in which his interests were those of a political scientist; and the third or British phase, 1937-47, concerned with his ideas on democratic planning. Unfortunately, the useful simplicity of this scheme is complicated by Loader's introduction of two "transitional stages" that link the other three by containing work which foreshadows that of the next phase. The value of such minute subdivision is not at all clear, though it does parallel Mannheim's own somewhat obsessive interest in the creation of numerous categories, a large number of which remained completely idle, and an even larger number of which were simply heuristic devices and *alides-mémoire*. Nevertheless, for Loader, as for Mannheim, there are divisions into problems, programmes and solutions; and for the latter, at least, there are immanent and extrinsic methods, systematic and genetic approaches, interpretations and explanations.

There are also the combinations of these three pairs. In addition, we must bear in mind the three levels of meaning - "objective, expressive, and documentary" - the distinction between signs and formations, between rational and non-rational totalities, between sociology and cultural sociology; each with its three varieties of pure, general and dynamic. The actual work done with the aid of these, and many other categories is minimal. But Loader takes them seriously enough to frame his account of Mannheim's intellectual development in terms of his chronological progression through the various sets of categories that he either invented or borrowed in the course of his career. The effect of this is to make Loader's account a curiously programmatic treatment, as though Mannheim's creation of categories was in itself a worthwhile activity.

However, while a passion for pigeon-holes is not always a substitute for thought, in Mannheim's case the passion was joined to an odd reluctance to make use of what he had created. He produced examples for his categories rather sparingly, and did so, as if they might distract the reader from the even tenor of the general and abstract argument. In fact, since Mannheim had a positive distaste for brevity his examples are often the most concise way he has of making his point. In his German period they stand as beacons in a sea of turbulent abstract nouns - *history, art, philosophy, culture, positivism* - which interact among themselves without any apparent need for human agents. For instance, in an essay entitled "Historicism" Mannheim wrote:

There is no more relativistic solution than that of a static philosophy of Reason which acknowledges a transcendence of values "in themselves", and sees this transcendence guaranteed in the *form* of every concrete judgment, but relegated the material content of the judgment into the sphere of inter-relativity - refusing to recognize in the actual historical course of the realizations of values any principle of approximation to the transcendence values as such.

There are four things to be said concerning this he added that the disappearance in each such society of a single world-view, the emergence of "opposite creeds of equal vehemence", encouraged the growth in the members of these societies of radical scepticism about the goals of political action and the value of scientific knowledge. Loader points out that by the Second World War Mannheim believed that the chief danger to democratic societies came not from the overdevelopment of central governments but from the alienated individualism of their citizens: from the masses who had lost all sense of social purpose and responsibility, who believed in nothing and who craved endlessly for "new sensations".

Mannheim's solution to this problem of alienation, and to that of the "proletarianization of the intelligentsia", was democratic participation in planning for new social institutions; for schools that would "provide a running commentary on life" in the rejuvenated machine age; for a cultural and political elite with open access, for co-ordinated economic activity and for religious organizations that would integrate different social groups by offering common moral values, especially those of freedom and responsibility. His solution, in brief, although its details were voluminous, was a democratically organized, and religiously integrated, welfare state. While Mannheim answered the question "Who will plan the planners?" with the reply "the planned", his own plan was global in outlook and



A cast iron motif, simply entitled "Edinburgh" in John Gay's *Cast Iron* (112pp. Murray, Paperback, £5.95, 07195 42308).

Popular paradoxes

Michael Banton

SERGE MOSCOVICI

The Age of the Crowd: A historical treatise on mass psychology
Translated by J. C. Whitehouse
408pp. Cambridge University Press. £30 (paperback, £10.95).
0521 257743

Over the past thirty years social psychology has gained greatly in rigour and made increasing use of the experimental method. Serge Moscovici, professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, nevertheless fights for one of the lost causes of his generation: crowd psychology. He revives the windy theories of Le Bon and Tarde, adding interpretations from Freud, to maintain that mass psychology holds at least one of the keys to an understanding of how it is that certain political leaders have been able to accumulate so much power. He also adds that he himself rejects crowd psychology's view of history while being challenged by its subject-matter.

As Moscovici acknowledges, our contemporaries declare these theories unacceptable. They are diffuse and untestable. Social scientists have been much more attracted to the theory of collective action pioneered by Mancur Olson, which derives from economics. According to this, people learn to attain their ends by making rational use of available means. A man who recognizes that some association, like a trade union, works in his interest may nevertheless refrain from joining it so long as he can take a free ride at others' expense. This offers a convincing explanation of why, in many situations, collective actions fail or never get started. It is less impressive as an explanation of successful mass actions and it, too, is difficult to test.

Gleams in the gloom

Dennis O'Keeffe

JOHN O'NEILL
Five Bodies: The human shape of modern society
181pp. Cornell University Press. \$17.50.
08014 17279

John O'Neill holds that the managerial culture of "advanced capitalism" manipulates and degrades people. Business corporations manufacture consumer "needs" and the Welfare State depoliticizes the citizenry. Our human crisis is at once spiritual and bodily. Humans cease to be the subjects of politics, medicine and technology; instead they become their objects, suitable for Huxleyan embryo-to-tomb management and spare-part surgery.

Copernicus, Galileo and Newton, O'Neill argues in *Five Bodies*, exacted a high price when they displaced mankind's previous anthropomorphic cosmology, with Bacon and Locke, by way of philosophical accompaniment, reducing the body to its five senses. The author believes that anthropomorphism (human awareness rooted in the physical body) cannot successfully be rejected; it is existentially necessary. An awareness of the physical self as the first datum of experience was the creative force in cultural evolution. The body was, as *Vico* observed, "the universal principle of etymology"; it is the source of words.

The fascinating first half of the book owes a lot to Durkheim. Our ancestors, it is argued, took the whole world for a body. They were constrained to "think the whole world with their bodies". Indeed anthropomorphizing the world in terms of male and female bodies and the family was a greater conceptual leap than any we have since taken, one without which rationalism itself, which has tragically tipped us out of the equation, could not have occurred. Anthropomorphic thought, however, ubiquitously continued until the Renaissance. Philosophy, theology, law and poetry drew endlessly on the body and its metaphors: the mystical body of the church and the body politic are notions central to our intellectual history. But there remain gleams of hope in the bodiless dark. Two centuries ago Blake tried to

According to Moscovici, crowd psychology rejects any assumption that politics are based on interest and reason. It denies that men join parties and vote for candidates in a search for the greatest personal advantage. Against his critics Moscovici deploys a weak argument and a strong one. The theory of collective action has found most support in the United States and Great Britain, but most mass psychologists apparently consider that their theories do not apply to these two countries, where democracy has been able to find its true form. The peoples of other societies and other ages are different. A likely story!

The strong argument is one from experience. The theory of collective action has precious little to say about the power exercised by Mussolini, Hitler, Mao, Stalin, Tito, Nehru and Castro. Mass movements focus on ideals and develop shared sentiment. They change the priorities people place upon ends like national unity. Economics can treat a desire for national unity only as it treats a preference for a brand of toothpaste; it cannot account for tastes and can cast only a pale light upon changes in preferences. The claims of theories which start from the means – end relationship are therefore deflated by the evidence of mass movements. To respond, as so many have done, by distinguishing between rational and non-rational conduct, and asserting that the two require different modes of explanation, is to turn aside before a crucial challenge.

Moscovici is no more willing to tackle this problem, but his is the opposite timidity of ignoring the means – end relationship in collective behaviour. Many of those who attended Nazi rallies, for example, must have been influenced by some calculation as to the degree of participation which would best serve their interests. Though *The Age of the Crowd* spreads over four hundred pages – written, too, with a brilliance which is keenly conveyed by the

translator – no room is found for any other control than the mass can exercise over the reluctant participant. Moscovici claims that who disparage crowd psychology without having studied it, but he himself (despite his bearing upon his theses of the theory of collective action).

Thus Moscovici discerns a "paradox of identity" when the masses call for a Caesar, a paradox allegedly arises because one understands the language of the heart more than that of the head, so that crowd psychology, according to Moscovici, is that individuals making up a crowd are intelligent and creative than when they are alone. He does not see that people's reaction of their inclination to take free rides is an explanation of their willingness to work closed shop or for some other form of coercion which will oblige everyone to contribute her share. This, certainly, is not a turn of intelligence, while many of the so-called "mobs" in European and North American history have, in recent years, been shown to have been oriented to specific goals to a far greater extent than any reader of Le Bon, or Moscovici would guess.

As Moscovici concludes, crowd psychology has illuminated problems of major importance. It has offered explanations both of the power of leaders and for the disquiet of a generation feels about that power. The theories which in nineteenth-century Britain propagated mass politics are now being capitulated in Latin America, Africa and in yet more testing forms. If Europeans come to terms with the new masses, they will have to study their psychology should be with the proviso that there are principles of collective behaviour additional to those expounded in *The Age of the Crowd*.

A Winter's Tale

A dying winter light
sharpens our hearing,
late warblers on the other bank
jabber and jab
at the low skimming midges:

Keats noted here.
The wind travelled upstream
and vanished, hours back.
All the bluster gone out of it,
the bruised land

gathers its browns and purples
in clumsy
wickerwork tangles.
Across the slimy path
to the kingfisher's nesting place

the dogwood planted last year
has taken hold,
dug in, as though
the tangles were barbed wire,
this river not

an English river, we
not coming up the tame bank
with the stop
and start of our toddler
picking up stones.

That was the war
that choked the water meadow
took off the hands
and scattered mud
in ephemeral channels

there, where those haggard saplings
are sucking the soil dry.
We read our history
in the melting horizon, the
and our uncertain future.

LACHLAN MACKINNON

Controlling the controllers

Mark Bonham Carter

ROBERT REINER

The Politics of the Police
258pp. Wheatsheaf. Paperback, £6.95.
07450 0092 4

JOHN BAXTER AND LAURENCE KOFFMAN
The Constitution and the Community
274pp. Professional Books. £17.95 (paperback, £9.95).

ROGER GEARY
Policing Industrial Disputes, 1893-1985
171pp. Cambridge University Press. £19.50.
0521 30315 X
SARAH SPENCER
Called to Account: The case for police accountability in England and Wales
146pp. National Council for Civil Liberties, 21 Tabard Street, London SE1 4LA. Paperback, £3.95.
0946088 128

All the authors of or contributors to this clutch of books would agree that relations between the British police and substantial sections of the public are in a state of crisis. That is why the books have been written. One is concerned with policing industrial disputes over the past hundred years, a second with how the present state of affairs developed together with some suggestions as to how it might be improved, the third is a collection of essays from a "libertarian" angle and the fourth makes the case for the police being more directly accountable to local authorities.

When I was a child, the most respected public servants were postmen and policemen. Postmen were friendly visitors calling regularly several times a day. Policemen were comforting presences on the way to and from school. "If you want to know the time ask a policeman" was more than a saying, it was a piece of advice. Policemen were authoritative, respectful, perhaps deferential. My policemen were the face of law and order, seen through the eyes of a privileged child. But to draw from such selective memories the conclusion that British society has a tradition of orderliness would be to ignore our history and literature. The establishment of the police by Sir Robert Peel was in response to the disorder, and fear of growing disorder, which accompanied the industrial revolution. Supported by the middle classes it was none the less opposed by the landed gentry, libertarians and the working classes. Those advocates of law and order who call in aid a mythical past need to be reminded that when PC Cullley was stabbed to death in fighting between the police and the National Political Union, the nineteenth-century jury returned a verdict of justifiable homicide. Rioting has been a long-standing and almost uninterrupted tradition in Britain.

The crisis with which these books are concerned, however, is a real one that has developed over the past twenty-five years. The changed attitude towards the police on the part of the public is most marked among those under thirty, and above all among blacks and Asians, but it is by no means confined to these groups. There is not much difference in the accounts of these developments in each of the books under review, though the most balanced is that in Robert Reiner's admirable *The Politics of the Police*. If the apex of the police's popularity with the public was in the 1950s, the decline since then has been steady. No one supposes that their task has not become more difficult and more dangerous – there has been a sharp increase in crime, as well as in political disorder, whether in demonstrations against Vietnam or by CND or the National Front, and in football hooliganism and industrial disputes. These trends might have reinforced the public's respect for the body that protects it, but the image of the police was damaged by the corruption scandals of the 1960s, which revealed what Reiner calls a "systematic, institutionalised and widespread network of corruption" which re-emerged – despite the efforts of the then Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Robert Mark – in the 1970s, involving the Drug Squad and the Obscene Publications Squad. Among other issues raised by the National Council of Civil Liberties (known in police jargon as the National Council for the Prevention of Policemen doing their Duty)

have been the violation of legal procedures in the course of investigations, the modification of the strategy of minimal force by Special Patrol Groups and Police Support Units, the increased and sometimes fatal use of firearms, and finally the 1979 general election which saw the police, who until 1887 were not allowed to vote, participating in a partisan fashion in the election. Launching an unprecedented campaign for law and order, the Secretary of the Police Federation said "we are extremely anxious to make it a big election issue". The Police Federation have much to answer for.

The events, however, which have quite rightly prompted the most acute anxiety and controversy have been the riots in our inner cities where there is a concentration of ethnic minorities – in Bristol, Southall, Brixton, Toxteth, Handsworth, Tottenham and Brixton again. Everyone must deplore and condemn these outbreaks of extreme violence in which a policeman was killed, many others were injured and the property of innocent people was wantonly destroyed and looted. But to deplore and condemn is not enough, and to ascribe these events to a conspiracy of professional agitators seems implausible. The inner areas of London cannot be compared with Ulster, and the immediate call for plastic bullets and more weaponry may serve to escalate violence and increase casualties. The more measured response in Lord Scarman's report (1981) seems more appropriate and constructive. Recent remarks by the Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, may be interpreted as a return to that position. It is clear from the history of riots in England in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and in the United States) that they occur in conditions of economic deprivation and political frustration. They are in many cases a cry from the powerless. It is noticeable that in the US, as the black population has been more fully incorporated within the political system and as the number of black mayors and others elected to office has increased, so the riots have largely disappeared. Since the black and Asian population of Great Britain is proportionately much smaller, and since there are few, if any, wards with black or Asian majorities, this process will be more difficult to achieve. But the incorporation of the British working classes within the political system in the nineteenth century certainly had a similar effect.

Police relations with minority groups in Britain are a crucial element in the chemistry of the riots. In 1983 the Policy Studies Institute Report *Police and People in London* said that "the level of racial prejudice in the Force is cause for serious concern" and that "the proportion of young West Indian males who have come into conflict with the police is perhaps dangerously high, and the proportion of their contacts with the police that are negative is very high indeed (over 70%, compared with 14% for the general population)". Already in 1981 the Home Office had undertaken a survey of racial attitudes. The result was to show that racial victimization of Asians was fifty times the rate for white people, and the rate for West Indians or Africans thirty-six times that for white people. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the Home Office Survey and the PSI Report both show a frightening lack of confidence among these groups in the will or capacity of the police to protect them.

Though I have never heard them mention racist attacks, it is none the less the assumption of the law-and-order lobby that the prime function of the police is the prevention of crime. With the increase in crime and the drop in the "clear-up" rate from 50 per cent pre-war to 37 per cent in 1983 (there was a call for an increase in police powers which was put to the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure. A number of these measures were subsequently embodied in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (1984). The balance held by that Act between the powers of the public and the rights of the individual is a matter of acute and complex controversy but some of the arguments put to the Royal Commission to support increased powers for the police seem shaky, and the consequences rightly arouse concern.

The Police and Criminal Evidence Act is thoroughly if polemically handled in a number of contributions to John Baxter and Laurence Koffman's *Police: The constitution and the community*. The idea that augmented powers

will increase the clear-up rate is hardly borne out by the statistics: nor is the theory that the courts are exploited by subtle professional criminals. The vast majority of criminal cases that are cleared up depend on evidence provided to the police by the general public, often the victims, not by a Sherlock Holmes masquerading as Lestrade. Nor does it appear that the courts are biased against the police. Eighty per cent of Crown Court and 90 per cent of Magistrates' Court trials result in conviction and "the weight of the evidence does not suggest any greater likelihood of professional criminals than 'small fry' being acquitted. Even the Royal Commission's research concluded that "there are no obvious powers which the police might be given that would greatly enhance their effectiveness in the detection of crime". Why, in these circumstances, was the maximum detention period extended to ninety-six hours, whereas in Scotland under the Scottish Criminal Justice Act (1981), it is six hours? This is made all the more dangerous by the omission from the Act of Lord Scarman's amendment, which would have allowed evidence improperly obtained to be excluded. That is not to say that legislation rationalizing police powers was not necessary, and the then Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, was surely correct to say when introducing the Bill that the present state of the law was unclear and contained a number of anomalies. It is a real weakness of the "libertarian" critique of the new Act that it does not face up squarely to this, nor to the fact that the police must have powers strictly defined if they are to perform in a fragmented society such as ours a function which is both essential and infinitely difficult. An example of this weakness appeared in a recent *Guardian* article by Geoffrey Robertson, arguing against the Government's proposal to extend the powers to ban marches. Would he protest as strongly against the wisdom of banning marches by the National Front through, say Brixton, or does that not count as political protest? It is amazing, as Reiner comments, that "the insights of the 'new' radical criminology drop by the wayside when it comes to consider police wrongdoing".

The view of the law-and-order lobby that the prime task of the police is the fight against crime is opposed by those who see that in the beginning their task was, and remains, the maintenance of social order. Hence the importance of Roger Geary's book on policing industrial relations, with its account of how the tactics employed to deal with industrial unrest have changed from 1893 until today: "shooting by the army gave way to batoning by the police".

The interwar period was notable for a decline in industrial disorder. Each pattern of confrontation tended to be less violent than its predecessor, until the 1980s, "when a reversion to an earlier and more violent pattern has taken place". No greater contrast can be found of the change that has taken place than that between Reginald Maudling's response in 1972 to the closing of the Salford Coke depot by pickets, and the present government's response to the recent miners' strike. Maudling

believed that by using sufficient force, it would have been possible to have cleared the gates. He refrained on the grounds of the social consequences of such action. That decision, right or wrong, shows that in an appropriate political climate the Home Secretary can be responsive to a local community. It raises none the less the last major question, that of accountability.

The present position is a muddle where it is difficult if not impossible to assign responsibility. It is best described in the National Council for Civil Liberties' publication *Called to Account*, which argues the case for making the police responsible to local authorities. Under the 1964 Police Act, each force is placed under the control of the local Police Authority; the Home Secretary's influence on policing policy is far greater than that of the local authorities, owing to his financial and veto powers. Tripartite Control is as confusing as the Holy Trinity, and if the recent Police and Criminal Evidence Bill felt bound, as it did, to rationalize the confusions and anomalies of the 1964 Act, one of its first objectives should have been to turn its attention to this matter. Sarah Spencer, the author of *Called to Account*, produces compelling arguments in favour of changing the present situation in which the bulk of the existing local authorities fail to exercise the powers they possess, the Home Office normally supports the Chief Constable, and the judiciary to whom the police appeal ("we are accountable to the law") refuse to instruct either the police or the prosecution on the "way in which evidence to be used at a trial is obtained by them" (Diplock, 1979). So to whom, the NCCL not unreasonably asks, are the police accountable? No one knows. And were the Chief Constables more sensitive to the vulnerability of their position instead of lobbying for the status quo, they would argue for a clarification. As they well know, good management demands a clear chain of command and a clear definition of responsibilities. The strength of the NCCL case lies in its analysis, the weakness in its solution. Local authority responsibility is the obvious answer, but would we really want Liverpool police under the command of Derek Hatton? Would the policy of the police towards racial minorities have been more enlightened had it, over the past twenty years, been under the authority of Hackney Council? The NCCL fail to take account of the central problem, the tyranny of the majority.

The right questions are being put, all there are others touched on in these books (and of which turn to the old question "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?") data protection, complaints procedures, the introduction of independent prosecutors, and so on. The control and conduct of the police is a crucial question in a democratic society, and one the police themselves should welcome. A proper solution, which has most certainly not yet been found, would reinforce, not diminish, their authority. The comfortable face of the law, authoritative and respectful, has to be reinstated – and if deferential, deferential to the community it serves.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY Theory and Interpretation

Editors

Robert M. Markley
Jeffrey K. Smithey
Associate Editor
Joel C. Weinheimer

Editorial Board

A. Owen Aldridge
Pauli K. Alkon
Michael Fried
Alexander Gellay
Joseph Harris
Isaac Kramnick
Lawrence L. Lipking
Christine V. McDonald
Earl Miner
Walter Moser
Mark Poster
Ralph W. Rader
Ronald C. Rappaport
G. S. Rousseau
Randy G. Salsgill
Hayden White

New Articles and Review Essays by

G. Douglas Atkins
Paula Backscheider
Jerry C. Basley
Stephen Behrendt
Hiram Caton
Léonard Davis
Julia Epstein
William Epstein
Laura A. Fink
John Irwin Fischer
David Gross
Vedyn Klinkenberg
Charles A. Knight
Glenn Dale Leslie
David B. Morris
Suzanne L. Pucci
Mary D. Sheriff
Krislina Sprau
Thomas A. Vogler
Robert Weis

Editorial Correspondence

The Editors
The Eighteenth Century
P.O. Box 4850
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas 79409

Business Correspondence

Texas Tech Press Sales Office
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas 79409

Subscriptions: \$10.00 for individuals,
\$18.00 for institutions
(\$15.00 and \$22.00 foreign)

Heirs of the revolution

Nicholas Mansergh

TARIQ ALI

The Nehrus and the Gandhis: An Indian dynasty
301pp. Chatto and Windus.
£10.95 (paperback, Picador, £2.50).
0701139528
B.R. NANDA
The Nehrus: Motilal and Jawaharlal
358pp. Oxford University Press. Paperback, £8.50.
0195616561
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
Glimpses of World History
992pp. Oxford University Press. paperback, £7.95.
0195613236

In the closing months of 1984, the resilience of the Indian political system impressed the sceptics and confounded the critics. Against a backdrop of regional disorders - continuing dissidence in Assam, horror-blindings by police in Bihar, confrontation with militant Sikh separatists in the Punjab - on October 31 Mrs Gandhi was assassinated by members of her Sikh bodyguard. It was a crime that not only threatened the stability of the state, but once again conjured up the nightmare of the multiple fragmentation of the subcontinent which had haunted Jawaharlal Nehru at the time of transfer. Yet despite initial irresolution in dealing with anti-Sikh rioting in Delhi and elsewhere, the authority of government was soon reasserted, and, contrary to widespread foreboding, stability restored. In the Indian context of the time this was a considerable achievement. How was it effected?

The answer lay in the continuity - or failing that, in the appearance of continuity - of government. News of the assassination was delayed for four hours. But within forty minutes of the public announcement, so Tariq Ali records in his *The Nehrus and the Gandhis*, Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as Prime Minister. That it was Mrs Gandhi who contrived the familial succession was not in doubt. She had made her dispositions against an eventuality such as her own assassination and they were given effect. In a subtle but deliberate way, without indicating written sources - his book has neither footnotes nor index - Mr Ali describes the workings of the Indian political system at the highest level, which ensured that this was so. From his account three factors emerge, in ascending order of importance. The first was the lack of a credible alternative to a Congress administration, given that few could contemplate with equanimity the prospect of another Janata government; the second, Mrs Gandhi's dominance of a party bereft (in the author's words) of any coherent ideology, and of a government in which she had established a monopoly of power and patronage; and the third, that while she had advanced her two sons successively as her heir, it was her controversial younger son, Sanjay, killed in a flying accident in 1980, who had been her first choice. As a result, Rajiv had not been groomed for succession for long and it was in the nature of an unenvied mercy that he had the resolution and capacity to hide out a political storm.

But while all three factors in one way or another influenced the sequence of events they do not either singly or collectively suffice to explain what happened. For that a further, longer-term factor has to be taken into account. It is the reputation of a family, the Nehrus of Allahabad, three generations of whom had played out their roles in an all-India setting, all at some time or another as Presidents of the Congress, two also as Prime Ministers of the Republic. The Nehrus, already the outstanding political family in India, acquired with Rajiv's accession to office a dynastic appearance. In the General Election campaign that ensued in December 1984, the massive popular endorsement accorded to the succession found expression in the near-dynastic phraseology of press and people describing Rajiv as "the inevitable successor", "the one possible choice", "the heir".

Tariq Ali's book, which has twenty-two pages of family photographs, sets out to explain the interplay of personalities and politics that culminated in the emergence of this dynastic phenomenon. The treatment is politico-

biographical, with the focus on the many contributions by individual members of the family to the politics and thinking of their time. The outcome is a lively but selective survey of Indian politics as seen by successive generations of political leaders, reflecting the ideological or conceptual framework by which their attitudes were conditioned. Ali's cast consists not only of Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira, Sanjay and Rajiv Gandhi. He includes in it Mahatma Gandhi, not belonging to the family of the Nehrus of Allahabad, for the marginally sufficient reason that he cannot well be left out. And he also includes Feroze Gandhi, Indira's husband, best known outside India for not being a relation of the Mahatma's, but in India remembered as a radical member of the Lok Sabha whose unconventional ways were little suited to life in Teen Murti House, the Prime Minister's residence, where his wife acted as hostess for her father. Of Feroze, Indira is said to have remarked, "I do not like him, but I love him".

The book is divided into three parts, the first concentrating on Jawaharlal Nehru as Founding Father, the second on Indira Gandhi, and the third on the brothers Gandhi, Sanjay and Rajiv. While very much at home in contemporary political analysis, the author appears at once less interested and indifferently grounded in historical matters. Thus, while he rightly emphasizes that Curzon's partition of Bengal aroused Indian nationalism as never before, he goes on to write of Curzon's having been dismissed because of the partition by the new Liberal government. But in fact Curzon had resigned because of a dispute with Kitchener, four months before the Liberals took office. It was in the turmoil which followed the partition that the seed of political contention in the Nehru family was sown. Motilal stood fast by Gokhale and the Congress Moderates, while Jawaharlal, a schoolboy of seventeen at Harrow, made his father feel slightly sick by writing a letter urging whole-hearted backing for Tilak and the Extremists. Understandably, Ali has little of substance to add to B. R. Nanda's finely perceptive account in *The Nehrus: Motilal and Jawaharlal* (reviewed in the TLS, November 23, 1982, and now available in paperback) of the course of this debate between father and son, which culminated in Motilal, out of love for his son, taking the great decision of his life in transferring his allegiance to Gandhi. Perhaps he underplays the impact of Motilal's sacrificial gestures such as the disposal of his second cuisine, the burning of his Western clothes and furnishings, and his wearing of homespun *khadis*, in the making of the family image. But then, despite his devotion to the cause and even his imprisonment for civil disobedience, Motilal was not and never could be a revolutionary at heart. He had a cause: it was dominion status "as full as any dominion enjoys". In 1929, as outgoing President of Congress, Motilal handed over office to his son and successor, who entertained the more ambitious aim of complete independence, remarking, "What the father is unable to accomplish the son achieves". Here the note of familial succession is on record for the first time. In retrospect, however, it may seem more significant than it was. As Ali does well to remind us, Gandhi had furthered Jawaharlal's election, not with any dynastic consideration in mind, but in order to keep a gift, but potential deviationist revolutionary wholly committed to the Congress.

At this juncture Tariq Ali's perspective widens and his interest becomes more deeply engaged. The reason is that Mahatma Gandhi now moves to the centre of the stage. The author dissects some of the differences that arose between Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru about how the national revolution should be directed. He is critical of Gandhi, noting *inter alia* that he appealed to the British "immensely" because he was not interested in any real socio-economic alternative to the Raj. Indeed, he was hostile to socialism in any form and for him "right from the beginning, a negotiated settlement for British withdrawal was the only possible exit route". This is a debatable assertion, especially in the light of the 1942 Quit India campaign. Ali contrasts Gandhi's attitudes with Nehru's socialist revolutionary instincts, his readiness to take an uncompromising stand, and his fear that by collaboration on small things "we are losing the high position we

have built up" and that "We are sinking to the level of ordinary politicians". Against such a levelling down, Jawaharlal fought all his life. On Rajiv's accession to prime ministerial office, the question was raised whether any form of family succession had been foreseen in 1947. The answer is in the negative. Had Jawaharlal for any reason withdrawn, his successor would assuredly have been his principal colleague and rival, the formidable Vallabhbhai Patel. Nehru himself was hostile to thoughts of "hereditary governance". He was emphatic in his rejection of suggestions that his daughter, Indira, should be appointed to ministerial



Jawaharlal and Indira Nehru; the photograph is reproduced from Tariq Ali's *The Nehrus and the Gandhis* reviewed on this page.

office while he was Prime Minister, and in respect of all public amenity or service he acted on the view that Caesar's daughter should be above suspicion. He was scrupulous almost to a fault in his respect for parliament and careful to observe the niceties of parliamentary procedure. The author records his impressions, which conform very nearly with my own, of the differences between Nehru's and Mrs Gandhi's handling of the Lok Sabha, with the former relaxed at question time, welcoming the opportunity to inform and generally conciliatory, while the latter in her early days of office was apt to be tense - which was understandable since she was then a member of the Rajya Sabha - and in later years, when she had come to enjoy power and to dominate the Lok Sabha, less forthcoming and more authoritarian than her father. Yet while Jawaharlal was averse to the carving out of a dynastic role for his family, he delighted in his daughter's advance in 1959 to the Presidency of the Congress as something achieved on merit. But there was an element of illusion here. Nehru's style of leadership, far from being inconsistent with dynasticism, in some aspects promoted it. Speaking of himself and his colleagues, he said, "I am more than Prime Minister. We are the heirs of the Indian revolution and the mantle of its greatness hangs about our shoulders." His leadership was, apparently, effortless. He was a man of extraordinary gifts: what a *tour de force*, for example, is his epistolary *Glimpses of World History*, with its abundance of comments on historical events, some of telling in-

Journey without maps

N. J. Allen

C. VON FÜRER-HAEMENDORF
Tribal Populations and Cultures of the Indian Subcontinent
182pp. London: Brill, Gld64.
9004/071202

This work consists of concise portraits of thirty-one groups, selected to illustrate the diversity of tribal peoples of the subcontinent. For no less than eighteen of them the author draws exclusively on his own field research, which goes back to 1936. However, such heavy reliance on the accidents of biography is not necessarily an advantage; the intellectual justification for the selection is obscure. The Sherpas of Nepal are straightforwardly Buddhist, which would normally disqualify them as tribals, while the Bhils, one of the largest groups classified as tribal by the Indian government, receive only fleeting mention. If room

could be found for the totally Islamized Pathans, why omit the much more tribal, and historically more interesting, Kallaks of the Hindu Kush? Why ignore the well-known Todas?

As the book (regrettably mapless) moves onwards from the hunter-gatherers through standard evolutionary categories, custom follows remorselessly on custom, belief on belief, while issues of conceptualization and methodology are ignored. Is the notion of tribal problematic? Have successive generations of ethnographers done more than accumulate data, since J. H. Huxton (*Florula* 1920) or W. Crooke (1890s)? What have tribal studies contributed, what could they contribute? The historiography of the subcontinent? The problem of both ask and answer for himself, with little assistance from a narrow and dated bibliography and inadequate knowledge of the Indian section of the *Handbook of Oriental Studies* needed a volume on tribes, and the author chose an author of unvarnished expertise; an opportunity has been missed.

Alec Nove

JAN ADAM
Employment and Wage Policies in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary since 1950
251pp. Macmillan. £25.
0333353285
IVANT. BEREND and GYORGY RANKI
The Hungarian Economy in the Twentieth Century
316pp. Croom Helm. £25.
0709922094

In his *Employment and Wage Policies in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary since 1950* Jan Adam raises the question of the relevance of Marx's view, that in the early stages of socialism pay should not be equal, but should be "in accordance with work". In practice, that is too vague to serve as a guideline as to differentials between the skilled and the unskilled, between workers by hand and those by brain. In fact, what we have in Eastern European countries is a mixture of government policy and labour-market pressures. For ideological reasons, it is customary to deny the very existence of the labour market, but the workers are free to change their jobs, and the pressures of the market are certainly one factor to explain the changes in differentials. For instance the mass-production of engineers in the post-war years, together with the relative scarcity of manual labourers, had surely contributed to the change in their relative rates of pay.

The author has long specialized in labour

Peasants in their place

Ljubo Sirc

NIGEL SWAIN
Collective Farms Which Work?
225pp. Cambridge University Press. £25.
0521268532

In *Collective Farms Which Work?* Nigel Swain claims that although Hungarian collective farms have failed to introduce "economic democracy" into agriculture they must be regarded as an economic and social success story. While there is undoubtedly some truth in this diagnosis it ought to be taken with a pinch of salt. Certainly, compared with the Soviet Union or China the results of Hungarian agriculture are very good. But this does not mean much because the output of the two Communist plants is very low indeed. Swain cites as evidence of economic success the fact that the Hungarian population is well fed and that no imports of food are required. However, in a country with as much good land as Hungary this is hardly a reason for praise. Even the author admits that in wider terms, which means in comparison with what could easily be achieved without Marxist-Leninist constraints, Hungarian agriculture is not efficient (*inter alia*, more than 25 per cent of the work-force still work on the land).

As evidence of social success Swain cites the fact that peasants in Hungary are not paupers but live almost as well as industrial workers. That this should be regarded as a triumph makes sense only in the light of the long-standing Communist belief that the "industrial proletariat" should be looked after whereas the "peasants" should be kept in their place (seeing that they are "budding capitalists"). As it is, the prosperity of the peasants, if one could call it that, is to a considerable extent the result of their own efforts on small-scale plots. The more intelligent Hungarian leadership has simply avoided putting obstacles in their way. It has also been wise enough to make it clear that private plots are here to stay and will not be abolished suddenly for ideological reasons. Hence, a sort of trust between rulers and ruled (essential for improved performance) has arisen.

The assured existence of plots of land - small though they may be - cultivated by families in their own fashion makes peasants more willing to contribute to the efficient running of the collectivized big estates. These were established in about 1960 under pressure from other

and wages in Eastern Europe, and his book has the considerable merit of looking at three countries on a comparative basis. He lays stress on the military aspect of the economic strategy adopted during the early 1950s. Priority for heavy industry went with the allocation of scarce capital to ambitious new investment projects, with labour used lavishly (with little regard to costs) in older plants, in non-priority industries, and in auxiliary processes of all kinds. One positive effect, however, was the elimination of unemployment. The aim of maximizing the growth of physical output, greatly stressed in the early years of centralized planning, has by now been modified and greater emphasis is placed on profitability. Market-type reforms have been adopted in Hungary and more recently also in Poland, but loss-making enterprises continue to be subsidized, and the trend is still one of insisting upon the full utilization of existing productive capacity even when this is plainly not profitable. Thus full employment is maintained - essential, as Adam points out, in the régime's search for legitimacy.

Indeed, Adam calls one of his chapters "Causes of Over-Employment and Labour Shortage". Among these are labour hoarding (and so its under-utilization) by managers anxious to keep a reserve in the event of plan changes and to cope with peak demand; the continued use of obsolete production techniques and out-of-date equipment; poor organization and so on. So even with extremely high female participation rates there are usually more vacancies than workers. The under-utilization of the existing labour force is partly

due to a reluctance to work hard ("they pretend to pay us a living wage, and we pretend to work", to use a common saying). It has proved remarkably difficult, even at times when hard-liners were in power, to combat unpunctuality, slackness and absenteeism. Adam has a striking phrase: "In the real socialist system the position of managers depends on the goodwill of workers to a much greater extent than in private enterprises."

Since 1956 a steady rise in real incomes to maintain social and political stability has been a priority in all three countries. Adam shows how policies designed to enhance incentives through greater wage differentials collided with strong social and ideological pressures towards levelling. In the three countries there has been a marked tendency for manual workers to gain relative to white-collar employees and intellectuals. Adam cites statistics to the effect that in Poland in the period 1937-60, real incomes of manual workers rose by 75 per cent while those of non-manual workers declined by 26 per cent. Thus graduate engineers not infrequently earn less than skilled workers.

Adam presents a clear account of wage regulation in the three countries (and of its collapse in Poland in 1980). In his conclusion, he rightly notes that the commitment to full employment and the pressures to restrict income differentials constitute obstacles to the implementation of economic reforms of the market type. Altogether, this book provides a useful corrective to the view that, in a one-party state with no free trade unions, control over labour and wages is a simple matter. It most certainly is not.

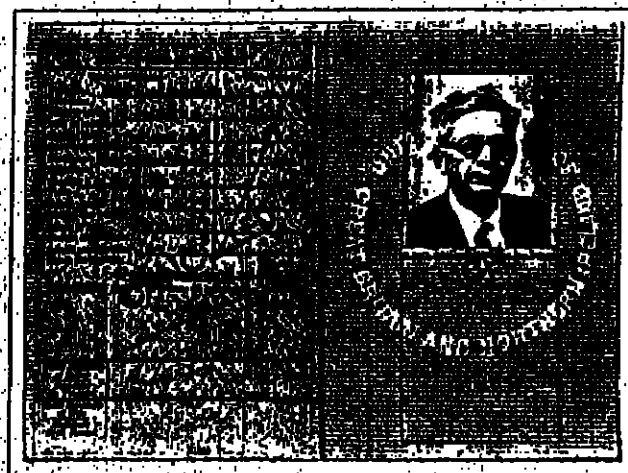
In *The Hungarian Economy in the Twentieth Century*, Ivan T. Berend and Gyorgy Ranki relate the stages by which the Communist régime under Matyas Rakosi eliminated private enterprise and imposed centralized planning of the Soviet type. A huge investment programme, with priority for heavy industry, produced a high rate of growth; but the recovery in living standards was halted and then reversed and forcible collectivization affected

agriculture adversely. By 1950-51 already over-ambitious plans were being amended ever upwards. It is interesting to note that the architect of economic policy at this time, Ernő Gerő, was later to explain that "we had information that we had to count on a forthcoming war in three or four years". Some vivid pages are devoted to the waste and inefficiency associated with centralized planning, and to the futile attempts to correct the worst of the distortions in the immediate aftermath of Stalin's death. Rakosi's attempt to reimpose centralized planning led to the uprising of 1956. After its suppression by Soviet tanks, Kadar began the task of rebuilding on a new basis. Although Rakosi and his closest associates had fallen from power, hard-line opponents of any form of liberalization were still around, and an economic reform plan prepared as early as 1957 was rejected as "revisionist".

The Kadar régime reintroduced collective farming (which had largely disintegrated by 1956), but on a new basis: without compulsory delivery quotas, and using "even the most well-to-do elements (kulaks)" to run the collectives. So the market became dominant in agriculture. It took some years of frustration and experiment before the New Economic Mechanism finally took shape, and it was introduced in January 1968. While it did indeed "radically modify" the command system and secured important gains, a "political counter-attack" led to a partial retreat in 1972-3. The advance was resumed, only to encounter externally generated shocks: after 1973, terms of trade moved very strongly against Hungary, and the efforts to shield the economy from the consequences of world-wide inflation led to a big rise in indebtedness and a series of interventions (especially in prices) inconsistent with the logic of the New Economic Mechanism. Berend and Ranki have a dramatic story to tell, and they do so with clarity and insight. There are also many valuable statistical tables, though one would wish for some downward correction of the official volume index.

Rudolf Peierls

Bird of Passage Recollections of a Physicist



Here is the intensely personal and often humorous autobiography of one of the most distinguished theoretical physicists of his generation, Sir Rudolf Peierls. Born in Germany in 1907, Peierls was indeed a "bird of passage" whose career of fifty-five years took him to leading centers of physics - including Munich, Leipzig, Zurich, Copenhagen, Cambridge, Manchester, Oxford and J. Robert Oppenheimer's Los Alamos. Peierls was a major participant in the revolutionary development of quantum mechanics in the 1920s and 1930s, working with some of the pioneers and, as he puts it, "some of the great characters" in this field.

\$29.50 (U.S.)

Order from your local bookseller or from
Princeton University Press
15A Epsom Road
Guildford Surrey GU1 3JT

POSTAGE: INLAND 18p ABROAD 28p

SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, NY PERMIT NO. 473 SUBSCRIPTIONS (IN NY AND POSTAGE PAID STATES) TO PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 422 N. 9TH ST., PHILADELPHIA, PA 19106-1500

Snags in the system

R. J. Overy

WILLIAMSON MURRAY
Luftwaffe
324pp. Allen and Unwin. £14.95.
0049230808

Until almost the end of the Second World War, the Luftwaffe enjoyed a special place in Hitler's affections. It was, he believed, his "most effective strategic weapon". Only late in the war did disillusionment set in, when he realized that despite the great investment Germany had made in air power, the rewards had been meagre, and he himself "had been lied to permanently about production figures and about aircraft performance". How this arose, and with what consequences for the Third Reich, is the subject of Williamson Murray's direct and readable account of Germany's air war.

The central argument of *Luftwaffe* is that the German air force was the victim throughout the war of a long-term attrition of its forces, which prevented it from taking the initiative seriously in the struggle for air supremacy from at least 1940 onwards. The reason for this – illustrated to saturation point in the text by over seventy charts and tables – lay in the strategic bankruptcy and over-confidence of the Nazi leadership, and hence on generally poor preparations for major war and a catastrophic performance with aircraft production. When it came to actual air fighting Murray argues, surely correctly, that the Germans, as with their battle performance in general, had a considerable edge over their opponents, doing better in the Battle of Britain, on the Eastern front and in combating bombers than their inferior numbers should have allowed. The emphasis throughout the Luftwaffe was on quality over quantity, better trained pilots, more technically advanced aircraft and weaponry, even rockets. But without a sufficient number of aircraft, superior tactics could not be brought to bear; like Custer's cavalry, they were faced by too many Indians.

If this is not exactly a new argument, it is worth making clearly and fully, as here. Murray succeeds in showing once and for all that the Luftwaffe was not the weapon Germany's enemies thought it was, and the implication, that the resources devoted to the air force could have been more profitably used some other way. The alarmist and extravagant expectations of the effectiveness of air power in the 1930s were not fulfilled. Indeed Murray argues that in 1939 Germany was ill-prepared for general war, and even for Blitzkrieg, which he rejects as a coherent strategy at the beginning of the war. Germany lacked the force structure and numbers to make air power effective, and lacked crucially the large fleet of heavy bombers needed to inflict the sort of damage later done by the RAF and the US Air Force in Europe and Japan.

By contrast it is clear from this account that Allied bombing, whatever its technical drawbacks and strategic confusion, had a very con-

siderable impact on German ability to continue to prosecute air warfare at all from mid-1944 onwards. All of these are important arguments, based on an extensive though far from complete range of primary sources. But it has to be said that they are not as original as the author suggests. The discussion of bombing and its impact can be found in the official history of the air war, which has stood the test of time remarkably well. German confusion and poor level of preparedness were brought out in David Irving's work on Erhard Milch in the early 1970s. And on the question of German strategic bombing or Blitzkrieg strategy the earlier work of the present reviewer deserves at least a mention in the bibliography, for it comes to very much the same conclusions.

Murray in the end raises more questions than he answers. The whole argument about attrition betrays a tendency to put effects before causes. Nor is the author helped by the structure he has chosen. The book is too descriptive, a substantial amount of the text being taken up with details of campaigns and battles. Its main emphasis is on the years 1943–5, even though the explanation of the later failure, as Murray himself argues, lies in the years of build-up and early combat. The issues raised by the problem of attrition are treated too superficially to carry the weight of argument intended. There is no serious full-length treatment of aircraft production, though this was obviously crucial, with Germany producing only 25,000 aircraft compared with the Allies' total of 151,000 in 1943, and being out-produced by Britain alone throughout the first four years of war. A few pages cover economic, resource and production questions, but they are less than convincing.

Murray starts off by arguing that Germany could not produce the quantities of aircraft Hitler called for in 1939–40 because of raw

material shortages. The takeover of Europe's economy, which might have made this production possible, was badly mismanaged, so that Germany was stuck with a resource base not very much larger than the one she started with in 1939. Yet aircraft production, using almost the same quantity of labour and raw materials, increased nearly threefold between 1940 and 1943, which suggests that it was not a shortage of resources that held up production in 1939–42, but their poor utilization. What the aircraft industries experienced was a revolution in productivity, which was then undermined by bombing just as output was taking off. How this situation was able to develop, and how it was improved after 1941, deserves much more space than it gets here.

Why was production so poorly organized? Murray rightly points to the technical incompetence and dilettantism of German leaders, but suggests that the real reason is to be found in the period after June 1940 when the armed forces as a whole were overcome by arrogance and short-sightedness in response to the easy victories they each won, and relaxed the effort to expand production. This seems too easy an answer. The problem really lay in the nature of the organization of both the air force and its production, and in the social attitudes, technical competence and strategic vision of the officer corps and its civilian colleagues and industrial contractors. In particular, the intervention of the military at every level of the production process, led not to a professional war economy, but to inflexibility and planlessness. These larger issues deserve more consideration than they get here. The reader is left wondering quite how the world's second or third largest industrial power, with a continent's resources at its disposal and some of the finest military and scientific personnel in the world, made such an awful mess of an armed

service which absorbed over 40 per cent of war effort.

Murray misses other issues too. The social side of the war is scantily covered, could have had a chapter to itself. Why use is made of the intelligence contributions of the Allies' side, German intelligence hardly a mention. The organization, morale and structure of the air force, and the nature of its officer corps, are almost skimmed. Nor, in the end, does Goering dominate the early years and growth of the Luftwaffe, get the coverage he perhaps deserves. To see him as a shallow, ignorant, is to underestimate the importance he played in running the air force, and the extent to which all the major strategic decisions, and a great many of the very minor ones, ended up on his desk. For better or worse was for ten years the commander-in-chief, could be argued that the task he set himself well beyond the competence of anyone else let alone him, and that this in itself says about his ultimate failure. But the plan structure of the Third Reich was such that one else could take these decisions without direct backing of either Goering or, in some cases, Hitler himself. Indeed by 1941–2, Hitler finally decided that all the major decisions, the war, economy and air force had to come more fully under his own control, the air force suffered from a serious leadership vacuum which for the rest of the war never effectively filled, with the consequence of the unflagging, intelligent leadership of the Luftwaffe, in the end, the failure of the system as a whole. It is, however, an indictment of air power itself, with different leaders, proper strategic policies, and efficient industrial backing, the Luftwaffe would have achieved much more. It indeed the history of "might have been".

The failure of the Luftwaffe, in the end, the failure of the system as a whole. It is, however, an indictment of air power itself, with different leaders, proper strategic policies, and efficient industrial backing, the Luftwaffe would have achieved much more. It indeed the history of "might have been".

Interlocking interests

Geoffrey Best

WILHELM DEIST (Editor)
The German Military in the Age of Total War
360pp. Berg Publishers. £24.50.
0907582141

ARDEN BUCHOLZ
Hans Delbrück and the German Military Establishment: War images in conflict
191pp. University of Iowa Press.
087745129X

JÜRGEN KOCKA
Facing Total War: German Society 1914–1918
278pp. Berg Publishers. £15.95.
0907582117

Of these three books, the most interesting and, for the English-reading world, most important is that edited by Wilhelm Deist, whose lectures on *The Wehrmacht and German Rearmament* facilitated a minor revolution in British teaching of German history a few years ago. *The German Military in the Age of Total War* contains, besides his Introduction, thirteen linked essays which together open much wider that window on to the war-distorted side of German history which he first unlocked.

Five essays in particular stand out. Lothar Burchard compares the management of the civilian side of the economy during the two world wars, illustrates the extent of the care taken in the second to avoid a repetition of the sufferings of the first and emphasizes that this was only possible by means of such exploitation of occupied countries as in effect transferred to their populations the sufferings to which the German people were otherwise inevitably destined. Michael Geyer's digest of his larger work on the military's insistent planning for recovery of great power status and military capability during the Weimar years demonstrates how the rearmament dynamic then set going whirled only faster and faster in Hitler's time, with the unforeseen effect of robbing the army leadership of "rational control" of its own creation. Rolf-Dieter Müller offers a truly terrifying study of German preparations for chemical warfare from 1919 to 1945, showing how close were the connections between military and industrial interests, how often unscrupulous and reckless their proposals, and how

mistaken we may be to derive comfort in respect of nuclear weapons now from any apparent success of deterrence in respect of gas then. Bernard R. Kroener's scrutiny of so-called Blitzkrieg strategy in its (all-important) economic context argues that only "Barbarossa" was a Blitzkrieg strictly defined – and reminds us that within four months of unleashing it Hitler himself was saying that it was "a very stupid word". Finally, Jürgen Förster irrefutably demonstrates the army's willing complicity in total war on the eastern front, where it was understood to require ruthlessness and inhumanity supposedly beyond the honourable soldier's moral and legal pale.

Such a collection of first-rate essays (and they all are, though one is too long and a few are too short) on such close-knit themes would be remarkable in any circumstances. What makes them even more so is that they are by German historians almost all of whom work in or have close ties to a branch of the Bundesrepublik's Ministry of Defence situated in the ancient university city of Freiburg im Breisgau, the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, or Office of Military Historical Research, a fine and unusual institution which demands a passing comment. From its foundation by Hans Meiser-Weicker in the late 1950s it has pursued an ideal of military history which not only departed from the traditional and militaristic traditions in which Germany's copious military historiography had long been embedded (to the country's ultimate great disadvantage; one can hardly doubt) but also more and more set an example of how the subject should be handled if it is to contribute to understanding the world we now live in. Dr Deist sketches it thus:

Modern military history has as its primary subject the "role of the military as an instrument of policy in the hands of the state and the role of the armed forces as a factor and centre of power in the state." This broad description also means that, in addition to the still central task of analysing the military conduct of war and its increasing involvement in, and effects on, almost all aspects of state and society, military history must examine the relationships between the military, both as institution and as military factor, and the rest of society – in its social, intellectual, cultural and economic interest groups.

Similarly exact studies of the same symbioses between the military and the politico-industrial order can be undertaken wherever

industrial mass society has developed to any degree. To varying extents, they are in the United States and in this country, good examples of these lines is done – much of it, incidentally, by historians of German provenance like Hans Carlsten and Michael Geyer and Volker Hahn, or those with a German specialisation like Gordon Craig and Paul Kennedy – but one can find the same proud national support of scholars of the MGFA receive from their environment and academic colleagues.

The other two books, good and useful in their way, are nothing like so remarkable. Hans Delbrück was in some ways a prophet of the MGFA's style. His best-known work, the multi-volume "History of the Art of War" (the Context of Political History) (any translation) was completed in the early 1920s at the end of a scholarly life in which he was regarded by his colleagues as a military-cum-academic. It is at odds with the military-cum-academic cliché which sought to harness historiography to its own narrow nationalist purposes: "wisdom at one entrance quite short of a path" Arden Bucholz has done so through a path of archives and libraries: that all subsequent quivers into the life, thought and influence of this noble scholar and patriot will be greatly enriched.

The book by Jürgen Kocka first appeared in 1973 as *Klassengesellschaft im Krieg* and once attracted respectful but critical attention for its careful use of social and economic indicators of class experience during the First World War. As a model of what may be achieved no less than as a warning about the need to be careful how it is done, it has made a mark and exerted influence; and its appearance in this noble scholar and patriot will be greatly enriched.

A final word about the publishing house, Berg, responsible for the Kocka and Deist books, one of whose main lines is the publication of outstanding social science books. In my history in particular, some of the very best work is being written in Germany, and it is urgently need to know what it says. It is itself hardly goes far enough in compensating his introduction by complimenting Berg for its share of responsibility for "this book" in the example of a publisher's interest in the initiative in spreading knowledge of a subject discipline, which is all too often an admirable undertaking.

In nineteen-hundred-sadly

Philip Brady

PETER HUCHEL
Gesammelte Werke
Edited by Axel Viereggs
Band 1: Die Gedichte. 488pp. DM68.
3518045938
Band 2: Vermischte Schriften. 457pp. DM78.
3518045946
Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

In the summer of 1953 Bertolt Brecht had one of his numerous acrimonious brushes with the East German cultural establishment. He was intervening for the beleaguered editor of *Sinn und Form*, Peter Huchel, whom he persuaded not to yield to the pressures of hard-liners trying to unseat him. Huchel in fact stayed on, or, rather, battled on – as editor until finally ousted, after thirteen years in the post, in 1962. Whereupon what had been perhaps Germany's most distinguished post-war literary journal became the official organ of cultural orthodoxy.

Brecht and Huchel, dominant figures in what in those years was a rich East German cultural landscape, were hardly a natural pair. Of the two Huchel has to this day remained the enigmatic figure. He was above all a poet and as such he was for long periods barely audible (his first volume appeared in 1948, his second in 1963, when he was sixty). Huchel's was a withdrawn art, not seeking – as Brecht most obviously did – a public function. There was an exception: in the 1930s he wrote a surprisingly large number of radio plays, many in verse. It was, in Huchel's words, "bread-and-butter writing", and the four which this edition includes look like uncomfortable forays into an alien, expansive idiom. Yet the radio plays, if they lack the density and the elliptical precision of Huchel's best poetry, are of a piece with it in one important sense – if they touch on current events then it is in an oblique, disengaged way.

For nine painful years after Huchel's removal from the editorship of *Sinn und Form* he was under virtual house-arrest, deprived of outside contacts, his private papers seized (he found them later in a vegetable store – "not the burning of the books, but the rotting of the books", he commented). When finally allowed to leave East Germany in 1971 he left much material behind. But what has been lost would surely not have altered the overall picture that these two volumes present.

This edition pieces together the first collection, *Der Knabenstich*, which Huchel withdrew prior to publication in 1933. Moreover, it includes sixty-seven recently discovered unpublished poems, mostly from those early years. Add to these those manuscripts which Huchel himself tended to throw away manuscripts – they include revisions and transformations of existing poems – and we have as complete a picture of one of Germany's greatest poets as we are ever likely to have.

In 1920 Huchel, still a schoolboy, was caught up in a procession of workers during the turmoil of the *Kapp-putsch* and was wounded. From then on he was, as he put it, "completely red", but the early poetry registers precious little of the turbulent years. There was, it seems, a vein of undisguised sadness which could accommodate no left-wing Utopias – "the face of Europe", he wrote, looking back in 1931, "looks everywhere tired to one who was born everywhere in nineteen-hundred-sadly (*neunzehnhunderttraurig*)". Protest – such as there is – shades into a resigned impotence in poems which face at least one issue of the day, the chasm between rich and poor. Huchel is remote, too, from current discussions about "functional poetry". There is just a hint of defiance towards more "functional" poetry when he writes in 1932 in an introductory essay to *Der Knabenstich*, the pre-condition for any understanding of these poems is not to work: is being written in Germany, and it is urgently need to know what it says. It is itself hardly goes far enough in compensating his introduction by complimenting Berg for its share of responsibility for "this book" in the example of a publisher's interest in the initiative in spreading knowledge of a subject discipline, which is all too often an admirable undertaking.

In many of the *Knabenstich* poems memory re-creates an autumnal landscape haunted by death and replete with blackness, isolation and decline. It is peopled with lonely figures, the gypsy, the old peasant-woman, the poet himself, within the scene and yet outside it, "speaking alone with snakes". Some of the gestures are borrowed: the probing, attentive portraits have the intense observation – and the sonorities – of Rilke; the recurrent bleakness, patterned in sombre hues, recalls Trakl. When, in 1948, Huchel's first volume of poems finally appeared the more plangent and insistent of the early poems had been rejected. This collection, simply entitled *Poems*, is overshadowed by the aftermath of war: the death and the pallor which had earlier been part of a Trakl-like vision are now real. But there is continuity – it is that same childhood landscape which now bears the marks of destruction in its pitted lanes and burnt-out villages, and which can, at the close of the final poem, offer a measure of hope in the figure of a woman walking out of the woods: "Did she already see swallows and seed? / She hammered and struck the rust from the plough."

It was Huchel's lifelong habit to leave poems undated, suggesting perhaps that indeed the continuities, the echoes, the cumulative effects mattered more than any attempt to chart a chronology or a poetic growth. But between his first volume and the second (*Chausseen Chausseen*, 1963) strophic rhyming forms have given way to free verse in which metaphorical compressions are hammered out ("Erwürgte Abendröte / Stürzender Zeit") or quietly modulated in a poem such as "Unter der Kiefer". The pain can still be powerfully close (the strangled sunsets conclude shockingly with corpses whose wounds are closed by a "black humming sheet of flies"), but at other times it is filtered through metaphor: swans that fly up have "cutting daggers" for wings, but their flight begins as something vividly seen: "A sudden white / Whipping with feet and wings the water / Fans at the wind."

The nine years of enforced silence between 1962 and 1971 yielded a further volume of poems, eloquently titled *Numbered Days* (1972). In one of the interviews that this edition includes Huchel acknowledges that months without visitors lay behind these at times depopulated poems. There is criticism of

Convolutions decoded

Agnes Cardinal

ROBERT WALSER
Aus dem Bleistiftgebet: Mikrogramme
1924–25
Edited by Werner Morlang and Bernhard Echte
Two volumes, 648pp. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
DM88.
3518032348
MARK HARMAN (Editor)
Robert Walser Rediscovered: Stories, fairy-tale plays, and critical responses
225pp. University Press of New England; distributed by Trevor Brown Associates.
£19.95.
0874513340

"Directly he picks up his pen, total despair descends. All seems lost and a torrent of words bursts forth in which each sentence has but one purpose – to make us forget the previous one." It is interesting that, in his essay (1929) on Robert Walser, Walter Benjamin should opt for a descriptive formula which centres on the writer's problematic relationship to his text, a relationship characterized by an urgent desire to confess and a simultaneous self-conscious evasiveness, where total despair and impish playfulness are always intertwined.

At the time Benjamin was writing, Walser was approaching middle age and had been beset for some time by a writer's crisis of existential proportions. Some ten years earlier he had published three novels in quick succession and, after that, had sustained a steady output of poems and prose pieces. Yet apart from an occasional flicker of fascinated interest from such eminent figures as Christian Morgenstern, Franz Blei and Robert Musil, his work failed to make any great impact in literary circles. It is true that as early as 1913, in Prague, the young Kafka had read Walser's novel *Jahob von Gunten* with delight and admiration, and had eagerly searched through the issues of *Die Neue Rundschau* for further texts by this almost unknown writer. None the less, Walser, while continuing to be a compulsive producer, remained aloof from all personal or literary contacts. His determined adherence to the woman's-eye view which purports to see no further than "where the knitting and embroidery are done" made him an awkward approach to the book asking for a programme for the future. For these poems are only in part personal, namely, when they manage to create the "past". That re-created past was Huchel's own childhood, a childhood located in the woods, the scents, the people and the activities of a specific area, the Mark Brandenburg close to Potsdam.

Indeed, Walser mentions that as early as

1913, he had begun to experience a "most appalling and terrifying hatred of the pen, a veritable writer's cramp", which forbade him all ordinary writing and forced him to revert to the pencil, in a kind of absent-minded, low-key doodling. Only this escape into the "pencil-region", as he called it, permitted him to go on writing at all. The deliberate downgrading of the act of writing into something provisional, apparently unimportant and completely private, offered him a new means of concentration and expression, granting him release without self-exposure.

Walser's so-called micrograms, which were long thought to be in an illegible secret code, have turned out to be simply a scaled-down version of his ordinary handwriting. All in all they amount to 526 sheets of paper, produced in the period 1924–33, each page crammed with florid pencil marks between one and two millimetres in size. Two longer texts, "Der Räuber" and the "Felix" dialogues, had already been deciphered by Jochen Greven and Martin Jürgens for inclusion in Walser's 1963 *Gesammelte Werke*. Since 1981 Werner Morlang and Bernhard Echte have been engaged in the deciphering and transcription of the rest of the micrograms; the present publication represents the first two of a four-volume set. These extremely well-presented and carefully documented texts show that Walser's micrograms are characteristic of a period in his life when his writing entered a new phase and he turned from the linear thought-sequences of his earlier pieces to a more associative, introverted type of expression. The various prose pieces, poems and dialogues in the micrograms reiterate Walser's favourite themes, from ironic self-analysis to musings about the role of writing and narrative in general, and his own literary efforts in particular. Whereas the rugged helplessness of his poems seems to correspond to a personal sense of frustration, his free-flowing, elegant prose transcends its deceptively limited themes and probes the nature of language and fiction.

However, as the editors point out, these micrograms also explore other and equally important aspects of the act of writing. They strike the reader first of all by their graphic beauty. The densely packed pages, the strict adherence to a rigid horizontal line, the graceful regularity of this tiny, convoluted calligraphy make primarily for a visual experience. Walser's use of writing materials, his ironic choice of paper (reverse sides of old royalty receipts from publishers, for example), the delicate shades of different pencils and the occasional collage-like, cunning juxtaposition of separate texts, constitute an amalgam of disparate elements in which the interplay of page, pencil, calligraphy, as well as thought, word and syntax leaves an impression which goes beyond the content of language. Inevitably, and sadly, this is an aspect of Walser's micrograms which is lost in their transcription into book form, though two handsomely reproduced facsimiles offer some compensation.

the system, more direct than almost anything Huchel had ever written: of the shadow, for instance, who watches him, standing "wretchedly like stale tobacco-smoke", of an entire atmosphere that no rain will wash clean. But even here the personal fate – "in the snowless cold" – is entwined with the natural world. The isolated poet still glimpses the "knife-sharp shadows of fishes", sees – this on the day that he goes away – "jackdaws fleeing through a glistening net of midgets". And it is characteristic of much of Huchel's finest poetry that there is as much pain as pleasure in such sights.

Asked how the "meaning" of his poems might be sought, Huchel replied "with caution", adding, in a memorable phrase, that to prize "meaning" from a poem is "like taking a scythe to the sunset". Like most great poets Huchel is his own best commentator – not in interviews or letters (although this edition is all the more valuable for their inclusion) but in the way that poem illuminates poem or in the way that a poem takes shape through several stages. That kind of reading is at long last possible and that scythe is more than ever redundant.

For an English-speaking reader, Mark Harman's compilation of primary and secondary material offers a valuable introduction to Walser. His selection includes a fair range of typical prose pieces dating from 1902 to 1929. Despite its complexity, Walser's prose translates well into English and Harman's rendering shows that much care has been taken to reproduce whenever possible its syntactical and onomatopoeic playfulness, as well as the puns and neologisms. Harman includes three rather laconic poems, two early ones from 1898–9 and one recently deciphered from the micrograms (or microscripts as they are called here) of 1924–5. Their juxtaposition vividly illustrates the poet's transition in the space of some twenty years from that early graceful but eerie naivety to a last chilling outcry of fear and despair.

Also included are two of Walser's arrestingly complex fairy-tale plays, *Cinderella* and *Snow White*, arguably among his most profound and yet also most self-absorbed writings. In the "Forethoughts" to his highly competent translation of these, Walter Arndt muses upon the fate of all those "razor-keen" yet befuddled and spell-bound readers who are being lured into Walser's hall of mirrors. In their eagerness to follow the poet's voice, to understand and interpret, they unwittingly become "his meat, never the other way around".

With this disquieting thought we turn to the critical section of the collection, which begins with three short texts by Kafka, Musil and Benjamin. These famous names are always quoted when Walser is under discussion, their early interest providing the proof of his value, yet they now seem strangely marginal. Kafka is prompted by a brief reference to Walser to set off on a whimsical reverie about writing in general, while Musil sternly admonishes Walser for a "lack of moral depth." Only Benjamin embarks on a serious appraisal of Walser's artistic sensibility.

While Martin Walser, who, for years, has been a fervent champion of his Swiss namesake, may well complain that Benjamin's essay amounts to little more than an "admirable murmur", it nevertheless provided an excellent starting point from which an intriguing if unorthodox literary discussion is now beginning to gather momentum. The six "recent essays" collected in this volume range from Elias Canetti's short and tart defence of Walser to intricate analyses of the quality of Walser's silence (Winfried Kudenze), Walser's style (Martin Walser) and of the microscripts (George Avery). Finally we are invited yet deeper into this literary labyrinth by Tamara B. Evans's account of a recent fantasy by the young Swiss writer E. Y. Meyer in which Robert Walser travels in a balloon from modern Berlin to eighteenth-century Königsberg, an imaginary journey across space and time, and indeed thought processes, which serves her as a pretext for probing still further into the nature of Walser's modernity.

Between belief and unbelief

Peter Hainsworth

ANNE STEVENSON
The Fiction-Makers
64pp. Oxford University Press. £3.95.
0192119729

Personal emotion and experience have come to play an increasingly explicit part in Anne Stevenson's poetry. Much of *The Fiction-Makers* is concerned with pain and loss, though it is neither a gloomy book nor a self-indulgent one. She has said recently that she follows David Jones in believing in "a work-aesthetic in which an artist commits himself (herself) to craft almost at the expense of self". In her poems this commitment means writing clearly, even coolly, in a purification of contemporary dialect and in structures which put the harmony of parts before self-expression. She is, as she says of Jane Austen ("Re-reading Jane") a "voluntary of order, sense, clear art / and irresistible fun". But that is her baseline: at its best her work has an imaginative intensity and lucidity which seem to lift it into another dimension.

Not that writing poems may be any more innocent or redemptive than making any other fiction. The title-poem is a half-ironic, ballad-like survey of vain attempts by Pound and later poets to bring poetry up to date, to make it new. The last stanza opens into a frightening image of people's absence from the lives they appear to be living:

Here is a table with glasses,
ribbed cages tipped back,

or turned on a hinge to each other
to talk, to talk,
mouths that are drinking or smiling
or quelling some book,
or laughing out laughter as candletongues
lick at the dark -
so bright in this fiction
forever becoming its end,
we think we are laughing now,
but we are laughing then.

If that is so, then it is all very well to clean up poetry, if not renew it, to find in it "wordlife running from mind to mind / through the washed rooms of the simple senses" ("Making Poetry"). But there will always be a gap between the fiction and reality, or what seems to be reality. Not surprisingly an awareness of that gap means that it is hard for their maker to submit with total confidence to the fictions that she can bring into being.

There is perhaps only one poem in which the fiction-making is patent and yet untroubled. This is the wonderful "Where the animals go", in which the dead animals, butchered by natural and human cruelty, are imagined rising into heaven:

God absorbs them neatly in his green teeming
cells.

There, sexed as here, they're without hurt or fear.
Heaven is honeycombed with their arrivals and ent-
tles.

Two of each Butterfly. Two of each Beetle.
A great Connex sways on her full uddered way.
All kinds of Cat watch over the hive like churches.
Their pricked ears, pinnacles. Their gold eyes, win-
dows.

Usually there are more complications. Fictions may out the phenomenal world entirely

("In the Tunnel of Summers") or merge disconcertingly with each other and with normality. "The Blue Pool", apparently based on a painting by Augustus John, but having something of Hockney's colouring, is the most extensive and unnerving exercise in this vein. In it a girl moves between a book, the pool-side and her image in the painting without really existing in any more than a reflection, or the poem allowing us to resolve the question for her. But of course not all fictions are equal. More and more it is the supreme fiction of Christianity which has come to assert itself in Anne Stevenson's work. Significantly the opening poem is not the bleak "Fiction-Makers" but the more religious "From an Unfinished Poem", which draws central features of the Christian story into the fiction-making process itself:

In the event
the story is foretold,
foremade in the code of its happening.

In the event
the event is sacrificed
to a fiction of its having happened . . .

That sort of peaceable, if mystic, abstraction is not a programme for the collection any more than it is one for belief. Instead, in some of the strongest poems, the issue assumes the more familiar form of a clash between belief and unbelief. It is confronted most directly and perhaps most touchingly in "Dreaming of the Dead", written in memory of Anne Pennington, but it is in "The Television and the Nightingale" that it is most powerfully worked out. The poem is about watching a news-report

from Lebanon and then an actress in an opera, when there is an interruption by someone else to say that a nightingale has been outside:

Love, you have brought your nightingale in from
the night,
Bribes will not better this case, wrong, wrong,
She hates you. I hate you. Why are you pulling
(When I know it's the story that's spilling your
I'm hating her and fighting me, fighting a house-
heretofore nightingale, lost to its saving voice.

So faith - or fiction - can just drop away. "Willow Song" (for Frances Horowitz, to whom the whole collection is dedicated) can provide only the consolation of a form. Flower imagery, a recurring refrain, an ellipse of any direct reference to death, work to give the poem the air of a tradition, lament, personal and impersonal at the same time. But though the artistry is admirable, it is probably too prominent. It is in those poems where the thought and feeling are more direct that the best results occur.

Most of these are in the first and largest section of the book. In the later parts the feeling is undiminished, but the poems are more local and less ambitious. One poem ("Grate Poems") centres on the former village in County Durham where Anne Stevenson now lives. She writes of life there with the kind of sympathetic romanticism other people who live in her Eden might wish to question:

all but the saved (success
Has spared them, and the angel of death-by-moon
The town is inhabited by an alien, washed up in
(“Forgotten of the Foot”)

Then there is "A Legacy", the last and longest poem in the book, an exercise in the manner of Villon, with humorous and satirical elements, which, after the manner of its original makes bequests to friends, family and fellow poets. It is approachable, well made and through its pastiche, self-revealing, though in a good many of these later poems, factors to have the edge over fiction, pragmatism and imaginative power.

But discontinuity and unevenness are perhaps unavoidable. Anne Stevenson's writing does not aim at unity in anything but the individual artefact. One of her strengths is her refusal of specious systems. To a poet, she means recognizing the force of other things apart from making fictions, and facing the cult incoherence that must result.

Head-clearing

Sean O'Brien

ALASDAIR PATERSON
The Floating World: Selected poems 1972-1982
59pp. Pig Press, 7 Cross View Terrace,
Neville's Terrace, Durham, DH1 4JY.
090399786X

It's good to have Alasdair Paterson's poems handsomely assembled by the Pig Press. Those who have already come across pamphlets like *Terra Nova* will be glad that their collected work has a tidy, head-clearing sequel. The book is a goodly, head-clearing sequel to his previous work. In his poems, menace and wonderment contend grimly. "The Elephant" conveys some of the authority of his imagination. The emperor inspects his general

following the painted wind
eastward with his finger:
past painted galleries that blaze and drift
even the librarian will not go near them
having guessed what takes shape
under their threadbare blue covers

Occasional shorter pieces evoke the response "So what", and elsewhere Paterson seems to be stoned on his seductive materials, but the scope of the book is refreshingly wide.

Gut feelings

David Sexton

JOHN FULLER
The Adventures of Speedfall
160pp. Edinburgh: Salamander. £9.95.
0907340716

"To an impartial observer it may rather admit of question whether scholarship necessarily entails passing large quantities of rich food and fermented liquor through the gut." So the bilious John Carey said in "Down with Dons". John Fuller has a better appetite: in his world it is their stomachs that don't most study. Like Barbara Cartland, he believes that we are what we eat. Or he half-believes it, enjoying the taste of such literal materialism. Cannibalism and Holy Communion alike fascinate him; he wonders if they are not the same.

In his novella, *Flying to Nowhere*, he gave phantasmagoric expression to this queasiness. It is set in a monastery on a Welsh island in the Middle Ages - college cloisters returned to source. Stylistically the book is all early Auden - very Oxford too. The Abbot is researching into body and soul, seeking by dissection to distinguish the savour of life from the savour of death; at the end of the fable he achieves a strange apotheosis as the dead rise in rampant viscosity.

That book was written in a true poet's prose, rich and, well, fermented, thoroughly inventing its locale. *The Adventures of Speedfall* is less adventurous. These six stories have a straightforward Oxford setting, and they are loosely constructed around the doings of one John Speedfall, as related by another. Speedfall is described as "indisputably one of the original Young Fogies", "the most creatively obtuse, the most intrepidly clumsy, the most determinedly interfering of tutors", "the soul of indiscretion", but for all that he hardly comes alive. The chattering narration is perhaps an attempt to create a donnish Watson in his Holmes but it reads more like the Bismarck chapter of *Ulysses*: "My Experience in an Oxford College" by Leopold Bloom.

The stories are concerned with the essence of donishness, and its ingestion. In "Wriggly Porridge" an election to an Honorary Fellowship hangs on Speedfall's candidate's proving the edibility of a new fast-breeding sea-squid to the Committee. The "humorous simile"

Loser takes all

David Montrose

BRIAN MCCABE
The Lipstick Circus
140pp. Edinburgh: Mainstream. £7.95.
(paperback, £4.95).
0903931873

Since, as a rule, Brian McCabe offers neither very much in the way of plot and incident nor a strong sense of place (which, when named, is usually Scotland), his stories lean heavily for impact on their protagonists. Shrewdly, he has made a number of these outsiders or losers, giving them as personalities the head start of oddity. Madness or mental impairment is a common theme. Three stories ("The Full Moon", "Norman and the Man" and "From the Diary of Billy Bible") are set in the therapy ward of an asylum; in "A Breakdown", mechanized monomania erodes a factory worker's sanity; "The Sky" concerns its alienated narrator's weekly session with his psychiatrist; in "Elise", a man is dogged by a faint noise no one else can hear. Unfortunately, in these stories - indeed, throughout *The Lipstick Circus* - the protagonists are portrayed with a damaging lack of conviction; they may walk and talk, but they rarely live, carry little emotional charge.

Of the "madness stories", the most impressive is "Norman and the Man", which dwells on the mutually frustrating communication gap between a doctor and his brain-damaged patient. McCabe's other outsiders include a lonely would-be poet who has never found his own voice ("Autumn"), and a malodorous woman painter who works in the subterranean kitchen of a hamburger restaurant ("Jingle-bells"). The former story is marred by the

is allegedly "very good in omelettes, and also delicious jellied, with the addition of aniseed or honey", but it reproduces so rapidly that it got loose into the drains "most of the ocean would turn into a sort of mayonnaise in about five days". Sure enough it does before it can be put to the test, and Manderson misses his Fellowship.

In "A Mushroom Mystery" one mycologist challenges another to justify his description of a chanterelle as harmless; he eats it and it kills him. Speedfall discovers foul play, not misclassification. In "The Five Poster Bed" an eighteen-stone American "marriagist" lunches the Estates Bursar into selling her the College's foundation legacy in Wales.

The meal began simply, with individual pots of tar-masala at the bottom of which lurked large grey beads of caviar, like turtle eggs buried in sand or a Romanoff necklace unstrung by accident into a cosmetic jar. This was accompanied by dry dye toast, watercress and a few bottles of Louis Roederer of a very safe vintage.

Camel soup and a *bauf en daube* cooked by Escottier and preserved in the Imperial War Museum follow, washed down by Mouton Rothschild 1917, served by sice-eyed waitresses "dressed severely like Bill Brandt housemaids". Speedfall none the less succeeds in frustrating her designs.

Only in the last story, "The Smallest Ghost in the World", are comfortable munchings disrupted. An unsatisfactory scullion chops his thumb off and it ends in the medallions of pork in cream with prunes, to be eaten by Speedfall in the belief that it is a piece of tail. The thumb returns to haunt him and the High Table. "It was a thumb to destroy theorems and paradigms. It was an omnipresent and flexible instrument of academic rape, the hopeful revenge of the dismissed realities." Knocking over wine-glasses, spilling the salt, upsetting the St Patrick's Mulberry Pie, it represents the outraged real world breaking in on the cloister. Speedfall traps it in a tobacco-jar.

In "Gaudy Gaudy Gumdrops" a "modernist (or was he post-modernist?) Marxist (post-Marxist?) English tutor" is exposed for knowing neither Milton nor the difference between angels and devils on horseback. Would John Fuller be content to have these stories described as little savouries: *amuse-gueules* for the already well-fed? Certainly they seem insubstantial after *Flying to Nowhere*.

Freedom in flashes

Tim Dooley

JESSIE KESSON
Where the Apple Ripens
159pp. Chatto and Windus. £8.95.
0701139749

This collection of stories by the Scottish writer Jessie Kesson follows three novels, the most recent of which, *Another Time, Another Place*, has been made into a very successful film. The immediacy of her style, with its economical evocation of physical reality, crisp loyalty to local speech and swift transformations of scene, undoubtedly contributed much to the success of the adaptation, and the techniques used in some of these stories - panning out from a close-up on a face to a long shot of a desolate landscape, making use of flashback or cross-cutting - often suggest some of the cinema's technical freedoms. The characters in Jessie Kesson's stories, though, find their images of freedom in half-remembered snapshots of poetry, the texts of hymns, folksongs or playground rhymes, compressed language secreting a richness and sensuality with which they can protect themselves against the dour, self-denying spirit of official values in their particular time and place, values represented in "Road of no Return" by the crofter Aunt Teenac: "Searching for 'the English' that could convey the strength of her Gaelic commandment 'You must not . . .'"

Now nearly seventy, Kesson spent part of her childhood in an Aberdeenshire orphanage. Most of the stories in *Where the Apple Ripens* are set in the inter-war years and three are set in institutions - an orphanage, a mental hospital and an old people's home. Other stories focus on the lives of vagrants, outcasts, solitaires. The girl or older woman at the centre of a typical Kesson story combines a need for praise or acceptance with a spirit of independence. The considerable obstacles to pleasure presented by a puritanical society tend to be overcome by triumphs which themselves involve

cruelty or at least revenge. In "Stormy Weather" Christina Forbes's humbling transition from orphan girl to apprentice servant is sweetened when she manages to convince her colleague Bertha that she sees this as a privilege, not a punishment. "The Gowk" portrays a much more vicious cycle of recrimination. A teenage girl is coerced into naming a mentally handicapped boy as the father of her child by a community anxious to rid itself of two scandals at once. When the "gowk" boy is taken to the asylum, his father relieves his anger at the injustice by threatening the girl with a sexual assault.

Kesson's heroines find themselves in grim situations, but their inner lives are far from grim. Here pride and vitality of imagination score their quiet victories over circumstance. This is particularly true of Isabel Emelle, the central character in the long title-story. Her last day at school coincides with the funeral of an older girl whose watch she had once envied.

A memory of a memory, maybe. Your mother's watch, locked away in a drawer in the dresser. Signifying the twenty-first year of her life. But isolating it, as if nothing worth confirming had happened to her since. Maybe the important things that happened to folk fell out of time altogether. And flowered into space.

This is the moment of Isabel's flowering or ripening, a time to affirm as well as confirm, which neither the censorious looks of older women nor the clumsy gropings of the local Lothario can tarnish. She survives on what she has made precious to herself - an unlooked-for compliment, a vision of the future, gilt lettering on a school certificate, a fragmented rhyme:

Daisies are
our silver
buttercups our
gold
this is
all
the treasure
we
can have
or hold.

Defence mechanisms

Savkar Altinel

ANDRÉ BRINK
The Ambassador
288pp. Faber. £9.95.
0571136893

André Brink is a writer whose name is now so firmly linked with the struggle against apartheid that it is at first not easy to understand his decision to greet a new period of crisis in his native South Africa by resurrecting a twenty-year-old novel which does not address itself explicitly to the inequities of the white régime there. The story concerns the South African Ambassador to France and his Third Secretary, two ambitious and conservative men leading strictly controlled lives, who both become obsessed with a wild, promiscuous young girl called Nicolette; are drawn by her into the Paris of crumbling apartment blocks, foul-smelling alleys and sleazy nightclubs, and are finally both destroyed when the jealousy of one of them causes him to report the situation to Pretoria.

Despite the "simplicity" of its subject-matter ("As simple as love and hate", says the Third Secretary), the book is not without political overtones. In his "Author's Note" Brink identifies it as part of a wave of fiction produced by the so-called *Sassigiers*, the young South African writers of the 1960s whose work, while not being overtly engaged,

had surprising political side effects, as the questioning of Afrikaner morality and religion contributed towards a breakdown in the stronghold of the authorities on the minds of the younger generation. As such, this movement paved the way for a later wave of fiction which was to involve itself more with the socio-political scene in South Africa and of which my novels from *Looking on Darkness* onwards formed a part.

But *The Ambassador* is political in a more direct way as well. The events it describes take place in the context of rumours of unrest "back at home", which, together with the "scandalous" conduct of the two diplomats, threaten to

bring to a premature end delicate arms negotiations with the French government; and the connection between the private lives of the protagonists and the policies they are called on to defend in their professional capacity is clearer than Brink seems willing to claim. He keeps the political events sketchy, but it is still obvious that what appears to be only background is in reality very much a part of the action, and the same emotionally strained ruling élite uses censorship and repression both as psychological defence mechanisms and as instruments of government.

While the novel is interesting in itself and for the light it sheds on its author's later development, what could only be termed Brink's "struggle" with it remains something of a mystery. He states that it was born of his own exposure to Paris as a student in his twenties after a sheltered upbringing in South Africa, and explains that several early drafts preceded the original Afrikaans edition, which he then translated into English and has now re-translated, revising it extensively in the process. The result is an elegantly tidy creation which, with its trinity of somewhat stylized central characters and its economically evoked setting, seems very much the unified product of a powerful initial vision.

As a result, it is not altogether surprising to discover that the differences between this new edition and the first English version (published in Britain under the title *File on a Diplomat*) are numerous but also distinctly minor. Some of the changes boil down to (rather haphazard) copy-editing. On a different level, certain words and expressions have been replaced by new ones, brief scenes and snippets of dialogue added and details changed in an effort to clarify the themes and characters (Nicolette is thus made to say, "So what?" instead of "I don't care", and "Shit" instead of "Oh dear" the better to indicate her rebellious nature). The alterations, however, do not add substantially to the novel and one suspects that their main function will be to provide additional material for these writers.

American notes

Christopher Hitchens

If any city in America has had a poor press, that city is Pittsburgh. It occupies a place, in the world of the stand-up comic and the tired gag-writer, that is analogous to Wigan. This is far only in that, like Wigan, it is becoming an industrial museum. Up-river is the giant graveyard where the fortunes of Carnegie, Frick and Mellon were made; fortunes now commemorated mainly in galleries, grants and endowments. Homestead Mill, where Leon Wolff and Kurt Vonnegut have set historical and fictional descriptions of the great robber baron and labour wars, is a mellow tourist attraction. Every taxi-driver seems to be a former steelworker. Pittsburgh, for all its space and beauty, is *echt* blue-collar melancholy.

Unlike Wigan, though, it is a place where you can stop anybody and ask for directions to the Cathedral of Learning. It takes a little nerve to frame the question, but it can be done. The Cathedral of Learning is an imposing Gothic tower, forming the centrepiece of the University. On one of its many floors I recently gave a talk to the English Studies department, on Anglo-American ironies. On another, a few weeks ago, Colin MacCabe delivered his Phi Beta Kappa lecture as Mellon Professor of Literature.

The lecture, entitled "Broken English", will appear as the introduction to a forthcoming number of *Critical Quarterly*. It took the form of a plea to make English studies more multidisciplinary or, perhaps I should better say, it asked for a recognition that some such development had already occurred. In effect MacCabe argued for an enclosure, within English studies, of those developments in cinema and television that are affecting language and discourse in any case.

Nothing particularly controversial there, but Pittsburgh will become one of the first American universities where graduate studies in English will attempt to comprehend such a field. Those who lampoon American degree courses

have been pointing out wittingly that majors in TV-watching, and even in cine-camera maintenance, are available already at certain magic campuses. In his lecture, MacCabe cautioned the promiscuous. "If we are to teach our students to read," he said, "then we must also teach them to write. If they would analyse, they must also produce." Whether or not this will appease the fears of the anti-deconstructionists, or of those who fear a wave of Joycean and semiotic terrorism, remains to be seen.

Presumably the cinematic ingredient of the courses will include some acknowledgement of the work of Preston Sturges, whose *Five Screenplays* have just been published by the University of California. *Sullivan's Travels*, most enduring of this quintet, features a director who wants to make the great social realist picture of all time (provisionally entitled *O Brother, Where Art Thou?*). Sullivan's superiors are free with cold water, and warn him of the slump in demand for proletarian film. One such movie, they tell him, bombed in Pittsburgh. "What do they know in Pittsburgh?" says Sullivan. "They know what they like" replies the producer, provoking the riposte, "If they knew what they liked, they wouldn't live in Pittsburgh." Another *idée fixe* for MacCabe to surmount.

The controversy over Joan Peters's book *From Time Immemorial* has intensified rather than abated as a result of the refusal of its many endorsers to admit that they might have been conned. (Briefly – see "American notes" for May 10, 1985, and "Letters", *passim* – Miss Peters attempted to show that there never really had been any rooted, indigenous Palestinians. She was ringingly supported by Barbara Tuchman, Saul Bellow, Theodore White and most major newspapers and magazines, until critical work by Norman Finkelstein, Edward Said and Albert Hourani accused her, in effect, of fabrication.)

On the evening of December 15, at a public PEN reading given by John Updike and Woody Allen, an extra page was added to the programme notes by persons unknown. The insert denounced *From Time Immemorial*, attacked Harper and Row (a PEN sponsor) for publishing it and criticized PEN members Bellow, White and Tuchman for endorsing it. Norman Mailer, as chairman of the evening, disclaimed all knowledge of this act of guerrilla theatre.

At least two of the publications attacked in the leaflet are in the process of making amends. The *New York Times*, after many hesitations and delays, has published an article on the affair. The article quotes Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, Professor of Religion at Dartmouth College and Vice-president of the World Jewish Congress, as saying of Miss Peters, "I think that she's cooked the statistics. The scholarship is phony and tendentious. I do not believe that she has read the Arabic sources that she quotes." Meanwhile, the *New York Review of Books*, which has been a wall-flower in the debate for the best part of a year, has just published a long article by the Israeli demographer Yehoshua Porath, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Porath has already said elsewhere that he thinks *From Time Immemorial* to be "a sheer forgery" and "sheer rubbish except maybe as a propaganda weapon".

Miss Peters modestly declined to be interviewed by the *New York Times* as she has declined to comment on any of the questions levelled at her book. But it will be interesting to see if her eminent blurb-writers now take the opportunity to reconsider.

A tailing consequence of the McCarthy period is the penumbra of discredit and revelation which still surrounds all attempts at political investigation. The American academy, for example, may have to fear many things (being passed over for the grant or the trip, being made an embarrassingly generous offer to do Star Wars research, being excluded from the television special on his pet subject) but he need hardly fear the indignity of a loyalty test or a tribunal of orthodox.

It has long been the view of a certain segment of opinion that this advertisement for the American way is too generously worded. As one critic puts it:

In the ten years from, let us say, the middle 60s to the middle 70s, American colleges and universities, in full view and full consciousness, sloughed off the burden of their proper authority and responsibility as educators of the young and proclaimed themselves instead to be no more than mirrors of surrounding cultural fashion. If you want something of us, they said in effect – to students, to movements for the liberation of this and that, even to the wealthy and powerful of foreign lands – bring pressure or bring money; you will find us most wonderfully compliant.

The critic is Midge Decter, director of the Committee for the Free World and editor of its monthly, *Contentions*. Her scathing remarks occur as part of a larger article, in which she discusses the latest attempt to "roll back" liberalism and permissiveness on the nation's campuses.

In the past few months, numerous individuals have been contacted by an organization calling itself "Accuracy in Academia". This organization proposes to send "volunteer" monitors into 110 institutions of higher learning, there to watch diligently for "liberal bias" and to report it, when detected, to the authorities and to a nationally distributed newsletter. Ms Decter and her Committee have not generally concerned themselves with threats to freedom from the Right. Indeed, the worst thing they can find to say of "Accuracy in Academia" is that it reminds them of student yahoosism during the 1960s. But their conclusion is relatively unambiguous:

While we stand second to none in our concern about the condition of the American university, we wish that the organisers of AIA would bethink themselves

and shut down the operation before it goes further. This and other expressions of conservative disdain, will probably limit the appeal of AIA to the poorly disguised cranks and blackguards who started it. I have a slight caveat to register even so. The editor of *Contentions*, Midge Decter, AIA that "decency and honor cannot be expelled. They can only be expelled." We have heard that "decency and honor" are the qualities being oversold?

Friends of decency, if such there be, do have long to wait. On January 27 a new affairs programme, with a potential night of 27.3 million, will challenge the night goppy of ABC, CBS and NBC. CBN, the Christian Broadcasting Network, will come what it believes to be the amorality and social liberalism of the major networks. Sponsored by its managing director, John Whelan (a former editor of the *London Sunday Times*), CBN presents itself objective and, oddly when you think about it, value-free. "We're not going to convert anybody," he says, "but we are going to say that we, in our labours, will bring a system of values. That system of values is the word of God as conveyed to us in scriptures." Make up your mind.

We already know more or less what it will be like, because its owner, the Rev. Robertson, already has a show called *The Club*, and has dispatched a news crew to look in search of Ark fragments on Ararat. Macaulay's Revd Chantry Pigg was so objective because they believe anything.

should one, indeed how can one, read 2PLUS2 satisfactorily? It is exasperating, for come to come again a thoroughly mediocre piece after the concentrated excellence of *2PLUS2*. Judicious use of the index is one way, although this would tend to favour material already known: Paul Bowles, Jean Cocteau, Eugenio Montale, Manizus, Buzziati, to take a handful at random. In case of the well-known (and often dead) incidentally, I found the biographical notes the end very unhelpful. It would have been interesting to know, for instance, where Manizus's laconic article on the Exposition Universelle in Paris first appeared; whether Buzziati's blackly humorous story "The Floors" was previously published in an Italian collection, and if so when; Paul Bowles' macabre little contribution about Dr. J. Harper who was partial to a glass of the human blood has about it the quality of *Indel*, but we should have been told. As for rest, it is a tall order to digest with an appetite some sixty or so less-known names from around the globe. The danger is deep, and one formula which I found commendable that successfully was the group presentation of several contemporary poets from the same country, with a pertinent introduction. One Wallace-Crabbe performs this service in contemporary Australian poetry, introducing seven leading figures, who are represented in the pages that follow. The quality of the work is high enough, but the less, to stir my curiosity, in particular regard to Vincent Buckley, Kevin Hart and Philip Mead. Similarly successful group presentations – a formula that the editors might well to develop and expand – are by Lomas of two modern Finnish poets, and by Marguerite Dora of five Romanian poets. These groupings are like cases of order in an arduous trek through 400 pages of discussion.

Given the statistics of the collection, the overall quality (if that expression has a meaning) is high, and the physical presentation is excellent. For a British public the price, at £24, will seem high, but there is no doubt that the venture is a thoroughly worthwhile one. All have suggested the ideal reader of *2PLUS2* is to be curious about an immense diversity of writing. An ordinary reader will be drawn to familiar territory or a group identity and not within it new elements, hitherto unexplored.

The periodicals, 34: 2 PLUS 2

Stephen Romer

2PLUS2: A collection of International Writing. Distributed by Coddin Boggis Associates, 11 Ashburnham Road, Bedford MK40 1DX. £13. 288,172,000.

The hefty fourth issue of *2PLUS2*, an "annual collection of international writing", stretches to 455 pages, and represents some seventy-two poets, dramatists, essayists and translators of extremely diverse climes and tongues. Founded by Ion Caraion three years ago, it is edited from London and has contributing editors in America, Australia and elsewhere. With what must be considerable funds at their disposal, the editors have not only commissioned new work from the known and the less-known, but followed their enterprise through with an international publicity campaign that few literary journals of this kind can match. This number begins with a generous and distinguished selection of poetry and prose by the Czech poet Jaroslav Seifert. In an afterword, describing his meeting with Seifert, the editor-in-chief of *2PLUS2*, James Gill, defines the task of his magazine as broadening the "opportunities for a universal literary discourse". The phrase is unfortunate, since it brings to mind a bland, literary Esperanto made up of words that are somehow denigrated and neutralized by the time they go into print in Switzerland. Such a notion would be mistaken; however, since at its best *2PLUS2* does succeed in introducing a genuinely international spirit.

The selection from Seifert himself, made up of strikingly tender poetry and wry prose reminiscences, could serve as an example of what this magazine does best and usefully assists in the dissemination of a fine writer who, despite his Nobel honour last year, remains little read in the West. The bilingual presentation, the generally excellent translation by Ewald Osers, make this initiative a valuable one. And yet one cannot help but share Seifert's own perplexed questions to James Gill: "What are the literary criteria of *2PLUS2*, and how does everything fit in?" The answers are by no means clear, and partly because this is so it makes a straight read-through of the journal a choppy experience.

This leads to a more general question: how

Letters

The Brothers Adam

Sir, – I wonder if I could comment on Kerry Downes's recent review (December 13) of new books on Robert and James Adam by Alistair Rowan and Joseph and Anne Rykwert. I feel he might have been a little more enthusiastic about the former and might have drawn attention to two shortcomings of the latter, namely a tendency to make significant factual errors and the biased sample of Adam buildings discussed at any length.

Perhaps I can mention some of the more misleading statements made by the Rykwerts. They imply (p 111) that Moor Park was an Adam house when John Harris has shown (*Apollonia*, 1967) it was not. They suggest (p 114) that Capability Brown may have been partly responsible for the appearance of Ugbrooke, when an article by Rowan (*Country Life*, 1967) cited by them includes a copy of Adam's drawing of the facade as built. They write (p 144) of Adam's lodge in Green Park that it is a rectangular block and "in it are a dining room below and a drawing room above" as though the lodge still existed, when it was demolished in 1851. They say (p 170) that the village Adam designed for Lowther was not built, when it was (albeit in a modified form) and is included in the list of executed works which they reproduce from Howard Colvin's dictionary of architects. They say (p 177) that Seton suffered in the nineteenth century, yet it is one of the least altered of all Adam buildings. They state (p 177) that Althrey Castle was only partially built as designed, when all that was omitted was a courtyard wall and four one-room lodges. They say (p 192) that only one of the Adam sides to Fitzroy Square in London survives, when the facades of both sides were carefully restored in the 1950s. Again, they say (p 194) that Balbarie was a castle, when it was a classical-style house. My hope that your reviewer would mention some of these points was not fulfilled; instead he made an error himself by saying that the Royal Society of Arts building is the only survivor of the Adams' Adelphi project in London, for other survivors are 1, 2 and 3 Robert Street, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 18 Adam Street and 2, 4 and 6 John Adam Street.

However, your reviewer did point out that the Rykwerts' book is more a work of synthesis than discovery, and it thus suffers from a fault common to earlier books on the Adams in that it concentrates very much on their early projects. For example, the Adams built or rebuilt about thirty country houses; the Rykwerts discuss six of the first ten and only two of the last twenty. The Adams extended some twenty more country houses; the Rykwerts discuss six of the first eight and none of the last twelve. And the Adams worked (mainly on interiors) at about twenty more country houses; the Rykwerts discuss four of the first seven and only two of the last thirteen. This concentration on early projects is not too serious as far as interior decoration is concerned, for the Adam style was evolved in their early projects and did not greatly develop thereafter, but it is much more serious as far as their facades are concerned, for these developed fairly continuously and reached their maturity in relatively late classical houses such as Gosford, Walkinshaw and Balbarie and in late castles such as Seton, Althrey and Mansfield; none of these is given more than a passing reference by the Rykwerts. It is true that their introduction suggests they will concentrate on decoration, but the presence of over fifty illustrations of Adam facades makes clear that they are concerned with these too.

It is in this context that Rowan's book is to be welcomed, for here are published drawings and details of many of the Adams' later projects that are ignored elsewhere. The drawings and the informative if tantalizingly short text will be of great help to those seeking to understand the whole range of the brothers' work, and may bring forward the day when a book is written which considers this. Such a book is much needed. In conclusion, may I say that I suspect the main reason that later Adam buildings have been ignored is that they were built north of the border while most architectural historians have always lived to the south.

DAVID N. KING,
34 Greenhaugh Way, Bricco, Dublin 6, Fethard.

'Shall I Die?'

Sir, – By providing antedatings of words alleged to be Shakespearean in origin, my learned and generous-minded teacher I. A. Shapiro (Letters, December 27) reinforces the precise point of my letter to which he refers, which is that the date at which the OED first records a word such as "scanty" (found in "Shall I die?") is no proof that the word could not have been used before that date.

Professor Shapiro suggests that absence of reference to "Shall I die?" by eminent scholars of the past who had demonstrably examined parts of the manuscript in which it is transcribed shows that these scholars had seriously but silently considered and rejected the scribe's attribution of the poem to Shakespeare. Without attempting to anticipate Gary Taylor's response to reactions to his article, I cannot refrain from remarking that this is mere superstition.

It may be helpful to place the present endeavour in a slightly larger context than it has so far been accorded. Editions of Shakespeare regularly include works – such as "A Lover's Complaint" and parts of *The Passionate Pilgrim* – whose authority has been or is disputed, or which – such as other parts of *The Passionate Pilgrim* – are certainly known to be by named poets other than Shakespeare. On the other hand, almost all of them exclude *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, whose partial ascription to Shakespeare is generally accepted. Gary Taylor's investigation of the claims of "Shall I die?" is part of our effort to rationalize this situation. If the poem were proved not to be by Shakespeare, we should of course exclude it from our forthcoming edition. But if the seventeenth-century ascription is not disproved we shall include it with a statement as to its claims, and in the confidence that these claims are, at the very least, higher than those of the poems by Barnfield, Marlowe and Griffin that are regularly, and confusingly, printed in editions of the complete works of William Shakespeare.

STANLEY WELLS,
The Oxford Shakespeare, 40 Walton Crescent, Oxford.

Sir, – There has been some discussion about the rareness of the word "scanty" in the poem "Shall I die?" Although the OED's first quotation is dated 1660, the word was in use in 1596. Thomas Lodge has the phrase "scantie fare" in the dedication of his *A Margarite of America* of that year.

PHILIP EDWARDS,
Department of English Literature, University of Liverpool.

Sir, – Peter Beal (Letters, January 3) says that the ascriptions in MS Rawl poet 160 to some minor poets "may or may not be" correct. I can verify that the ascription to "William Austen" (Austin) is correct, as I found when editing his poems (1983), though the version is defective.

ANNE RIDLER,
14 Stanley Road, Oxford.

Sir, – So, now we have the words – what about the music?

We can sympathize with the literary critic who dismissed Gary Taylor's discovery when the poem was "read to him by a journalist over the phone" (our italics). Roma Gill found the lines very difficult to speak at sight; but Graham Matthews, having noted the words, found them surprisingly easy to sing.

The nine stanzas lend themselves to a simple, non-melismatic, melodic treatment, easy to memorize and project. A trained musician could readily extemporize a suitable melody, singing with or without accompaniment.

Such a song would be ideal for the first scene of *Twelfth Night* (1600), a play which is full of popular songs – such as "O Mistress Mine" (whose music is published in Thomas Morley's *First Book of Consort Lessons* in 1599) and "Hey Robin", whose music could be by William Cornhill (died 1523) and whose words are those of Sir Thomas Wyatt (as Peter Beal remarks in his letter of January 3: "some of the songs in Shakespeare's plays were not written by him"). "Shall I die?" would provide the right "food of love" for Orsino: each stanza could accommodate at least one "dying fall". And if the contemporary audience already

knew how long the poem was, they would probably share the impatience of Orsino when he cries "Enough, no more!"

Of course Robin Robbins is right when he observes that "some ugly ducklings grow up into ugly ducks". But perhaps this is a lyrebird?

ROMA GILL,
13 Linden Court, Endcliffe Vale Road, Sheffield.
GRAHAM MATTHEWS,
The Cathedral, Sheffield.

'Monuments and Maidens'

Sir, – The young woman pointing to the Capitol in the painting reproduced with Mary Lefkowitz's review (December 20) of *Monuments and Maidens* is described by her as "a portrait of Temperance". The attributes of Temperance are usually a pair of pitchers, or sometimes a bit and bridle. On the other hand, the five-pointed star that "Temperance" is wearing on her brow appears often on the American flag as a symbol of the states of the union, as well as on Uncle Sam's top hat and Lady Liberty's Phrygian cap in many nineteenth-century cartoons and medals. The figure's state of disarray – her "slipped chiton" and loose hair – characteristically denotes the zeal and independence of Liberty (as I described in a chapter of the book *Mary Lefkowitz was reading*). I don't know the painting at first hand, and can't research it from here, but I guess it shows either American Freedom pointing to the seat of power, or, alternatively, a state perhaps newly represented on the Capitol. If so, Mary Lefkowitz's great-grandfather need not have worried a bit about having a drink after he saw the painting. Mary Lefkowitz would have me leave much to the imagination; she has either been unhelpfully fanciful, or she has accepted the label on a painting in a hotel foyer.

She is keen that I should take other matters "at face value", most particularly Tiresias' report that women enjoy sex ten times more than men. (Well done, Tiresias, for having such fun; poor show, Warner, for not being a sport about it.) Does Mary Lefkowitz mean that Tiresias – or for that matter, any mythological character – can be our instructor in this? That must mean she believes he really did turn into a woman, and that, furthermore, we still have his story from the horse's mouth: The possibilities of such an approach to myth are truly wondrous: think of Zeus' metamorphoses, taken "at face value", think of all those pleasures he took and said he gave.

If we are not to inquire of myths what made people tell them in that way, we will indeed have to give birth to a new past. Besides, I wasn't concerned with the substance of Tiresias' comment, but with his role as a witness to sexual difference, the easy authority over female experience that his myth assumes, and the need for women to give their own accounts.

But then Mary Lefkowitz does not pay much attention to what I wrote. It would be weary work to go over her misreading, but above all I would not want TLS readers to think I am of the opinion that "Americans, of course, are notoriously harriculate". The wordless roar that greeted the Statue of Liberty as the ferry approached rose from the lips of citizens who, I made clear, were smaller than the lady's nose. At about four feet tall, they could not be expected to hail her with a sonnet.

MARINA WARNER,
10 Dunculle Place, London NW5.

Mainwaring and Oldmixon

Sir, – Pat Rogers's interesting letter (December 20) would appear to differ at least in emphasis from the account of Frank H. Ellis in *Swift vs. Mainwaring*, p 147, who concludes that of the thirty-three *Medleys* included in his volume "Mainwaring wrote seven, himself, collaborated with Oldmixon on eleven, with Steele on one, and Oldmixon wrote four". This was the account I was reporting, not the DNB's. If, on the matter of attribution, or of degrees of responsibility, there is an issue of Oldmixon vs. Mainwaring, it ought to be aired substantively and in detail.

CLAUDE RAWSON,
80 Malpas Lane, Keston, Leicestershire.

Medieval History

The Barbarian West 400-1000

J. M. WALLACE-HADRILL
"The author is to be congratulated on a suggestive and valuable essay." *English Historical Review* "Shows thought and enterprise and freshness of judgement." *Times Literary Supplement* 184 pages, hardback £17.50 (0 631 14082 4) paperback £5.95 (0 631 14083 2)

Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society

Edited by PATRICK WORMALD
These essays, in honour of J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, are concerned on the one hand, to describe the parallels and contrasts between Frankish and Anglo-Saxon society and, on the other, to examine the complex relationship between contemporary social and political ideas and what actually happened. 360 pages, photographs and maps £27.50 (0 631 12861 9)

Anglo-Norman England 1066-1166

MARJORIE CHIBNALL
Did the Norman Conquest mark the imposition of a repressive regime on 'free England' or did the country benefit from the uniting of two separate and disparate cultures? In the first comprehensive account for 20 years of the interaction between English and Norman traditions and institutions after the Conquest, Marjorie Chibnall assesses the effect on government, administration, law, the Church and society at large. 248 pages, £12.50 (0 631 13234 1)

The Origins of European Dissent

R. I. MOORE
"This is a splendid book: elegant, knowledgeable and balanced in judgement." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* "He has something fresh to say and he says it with a persuasive vigour which makes his book compulsive reading." *English Historical Review* 336 pages, hardback £24.50 (0 631 14721 7) paperback £7.95 (0 631 14404 8)

States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe

BERNARD GUENÉE
This major work of synthesis and interpretation examines medieval theories of and attitudes to kingship, government and people. It discusses the powers and workings of the later medieval state in war, diplomacy, taxation and administration, and describes the political structure of those societies and the complex relations between the people, the church, representative assemblies and the Crown. "Professor Guenée has written the first real political history of later medieval Western Europe." Michael Clanchy 320 pages, £25.00 (0 631 13873 8)

Basil Blackwell

108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JF
Basil Blackwell, 232 Madison Avenue, New York NY 10017

Now in paperback

COMMENTARY

Muffed stunts

T. J. Binyon

King Solomon's Mines
Classic Cinema, Haymarket

Even those most inured to the wilful eccentricity of film-makers will be profoundly shocked, three-quarters of the way through this new version of *King Solomon's Mines*, when Umbopa (Ken Gampu) proclaims himself the rightful chief of the Kukuana. For he does so under the name not of Ignosi, as he should, but of Twala, his uncle – the evil, one-eyed, usurping fratricide whose head, severed by a sweeping blow from Sir Henry Curtis's battle-axe, bounds over the ground like a football to land at Ignosi's feet – a scene which the film foolishly ignores. Indeed, it ignores most of the novel, keeping only the motif of a search for a diamond mine, but setting this in what might be 1914 (though anachronisms are so plentiful as to make the date uncertain), turning Allan Quatermain, a small, wiry, dried-up fifty-five-year-old, into a handsome young American hunter with a sawn-off shotgun (Richard Chamberlain), adding two comic villains, a German colonel (Herbert Lom) and a sadistic Turk (John Rhys-Davies), and rolling Sir Henry Curtis and Captain Good together into the female form of Jesse Huston (Sharon Stone), an archaeologist major from Iowa University. Miss Stone does preserve one or two of Captain Good's characteristics – beautiful white legs, for instance, which become more and more visible as her shorts get shorter and shorter. She also shares his sartorial nattiness, emerging from assault, torture, near-rape, aerial dogfights and similar with a shirt as crisp and as clean as when it came from Wardrobe. And when she does get it dirty, after being boiled up in a giant casserole together with a stone or two of assorted vegetables and Allan Quatermain, she immediately finds a kindly native tribe who live upside down in trees to give her free laundry service.

Although the film invokes Rider Haggard's name, it obviously owes far more to Steven Spielberg and Indiana Jones. But, like most epics, it's far weaker than the original, turning in its stunts, inept in its dialogue, un-

humorous, and lacking narrative excitement. The only thing that can be said in the film's favour is that it would not frighten even the smallest child, so obviously does it lay bare its own artifice. The back-projections are crudely unconvincing: Richard Chamberlain hangs head-down over a film of a pool of hungry crocodiles, clings to the wing of an anachronistic Tiger Moth standing on the studio floor and fights on the roof of a stationary railway carriage past which an African landscape is travelling. Imaginary mountains are plasticine or rude daubs on a backcloth, while five or six gently ambling elephants – never seen in the same shot as the actors – stand in for a madened, stampeding herd which puts a detachment of the German army to flight.

Chiefly responsible, presumably, for this witless and charmless travesty of one of the greatest of adventure stories are J. Lee Thompson, the film's director, and Gene Quintano and James R. Silke, authors of the screenplay. Should they wake up one morning to find themselves pinned to the bed with an assegai, no more than justice will have been done. Anyone intending to see the film would do far better to stay at home and read the book. Or any book.

The winner of the Whitbread Book of the Year prize for 1985 will be announced on January 28. One book will be chosen from a short-list of five in five different categories: novel (*Hawks-moor* by Peter Ackroyd), first novel (*Oranges Are Not The Only Fruit* by Jeanette Winterson), poetry (*Elegies* by Douglas Dunn), children's novel (*The Nature of the Beast* by Janni Howker) and biography (*Hugh Dalton* by Ben Pimlott). The judges of the prize, which is now worth £17,500, include Richard Branson, Bryan Forbes, Mary Warnock and Shirley Williams.

The National Book League and the City of London will present a prize for the best travel book on London (excluding guide books), which has been published in the last three years. The judges include Simon Jenkins, Sir David Piper and Janet Street-Porter and the prize will be presented at the London Book Fair in April.

AMONG THIS WEEK'S CONTRIBUTORS

Fleur Baile's *Selected Poems* was published in 1983.

N. J. Allen is a lecturer in the Social Anthropology of South Asia at the University of Oxford.

Michael Banton's most recent book is *Investigating Robbery*, which was published in 1985.

Geoffrey Best is currently preparing a book on international humanitarian law since 1945.

T. J. Binyon is a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.

Mark Bonham Carter was Chairman of the Race Relations Board from 1966 to 1970.

Philip Brady is Reader in German at Birkbeck College, London.

Robert Brown's most recent book is *The Nature of Social Laws*, 1984.

Agnes Cardinal's *The Figure of Paradise in the Work of Robert Walser* was published in Stuttgart in 1982.

Tud Dobson's first collection of poems, *The Interrupted Dream*, was published last year.

J. S. La Fontaine is the author of *What is Social Anthropology?* and *Initiation*, which were both published last year.

Dorothy Gaiten's books include *The Beehive*, 1982.

Eva Gillies is a former lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Peter Goldman's *Poets and Empires: Frankish politics and Carolingian poetry* will be published this year.

Peter Hainesworth is a Fellow of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Christopher Hitchcock is a Washington columnist for the *Nation*.

Matthew Jolly is currently revising several New Guinea genera of plants at the Botany School, Oxford.

Marc Jordan's study of Edna St. Vincent Millay will be published shortly.

William Leach's book *Richard Baxter and the Millennium*, 1979.

Virginia Lawless Smith is the author of *Anton Chekhov and the Lady with the Dog*, 1973.

David Luscombe is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Sheffield.

Nicholas Mannagh is Editor-in-Chief of *The India Office Records for the Transfer of Power, 1947-1952*.

A. J. Minola's books include *Medieval Theory of Authority*, 1984.

Alec Noy is Emeritus Professor of Economics at the University of Glasgow.

Sean O'Brien's first book of poems, *The Indoor Park*, 1983, won a Somerset Maugham Award in 1984.

Donald O'Reilly is a lecturer in Education at North London Polytechnic.

Richard Overy is the author of *Goering: The "Iron Man"*, 1984.

Sinqua Ray's poems appeared in Faber's *Poetry International* 5 in 1982.

Pat Rogers is completing a biography of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Stephen Rowe edits the bilingual review *Two Fold*.

David Sexton is working on a study of Nabokov.

Kevin Sharpe has just completed a study of *The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I*.

Michael Sherblagh is a lecturer in Film Studies at the University of Kent at Canterbury.

John Sire is the author of *The Yugoslav Economy under Self-management*, 1979.

Anthony Stajaton's *Hayward's Last: British Victoria to Rome 1753-1773* was published in 1983.

Julian Symonds's books include *Critical Observations*, 1981.

William is Professor of Archaeology of the Roman Provinces at the University of London.

Jeanette Winterson's novel *Oranges Are Not The Only Fruit* was published last year.

John Wright's most recent book *English Society 1580-1620* was published in 1982.

Keith Wright

Hunting, fishing, novel-writing

Peter Kemp

The Great Canadian Novel
Radio 4

There is a ghost story by Robertson Davies in which the spectres of defunct Canadian writers – Sara Jeanette Duncan, Ernest Thompson Seton, Robert Barr, Nellie McClung – are sighted in the obscure stacks of a Toronto library, clamouring to be reborn as American so that they will receive attention. Spirited objection to British neglect of things Canadian came from living authors in *The Great Canadian Novel*, Radio 4's trio of programmes about the country's fiction. "It used to be in Britain that to mention Canada was to cause an immediate glazing of the eyes", Margaret Atwood remarked, while Robertson Davies observed that, though thirty-eight European universities were represented at a conference on Canadian studies he had attended recently, no British institution was among them.

The Great Canadian Novel, a survey concentrating on seven contemporary authors – Margaret Laurence, Margaret Atwood, Alice Munro, W. O. Mitchell, Robertson Davies, Timothy Findley and W. D. Valgardson – set out to show what is being missed. Interviewing these writers and presenting extracts from their works, Margaret Horsfield attempted to trace the contours of present-day Canadian fiction. What hindered her enthusiastic enterprise was its inability to draw connections. Though authors were invariably related to their regional backgrounds – from Munro's southern Ontario to Valgardson's northern Manitoba – literary links tended to be ignored. Typically, while it was stressed that Margaret Laurence and Alice Munro originate from different parts of the country, the striking closeness of many of their fictional concerns – both have produced sequences of linked stories recording a girl's growing up in a rural small-town community and her part-escape from this into academic and literary life in a city – went unremarked.

What made this disconnected approach not just unhelpful but especially inapposite was the fact that – as the extracts kept intimating – modern Canadian writing seems suffused by an acute sense of affinities. Relatives and relations (to the past, to emigrant ancestors, to other countries) are particularly prominent in it. Linked to this is another motif discernible in the programmes' fictional extracts: a wide-

spread and long-lasting preoccupation with early experience. Four of W. O. Mitchell's novels deal with prairie boyhoods; recent adolescence in south-west Ontario is also Munro's forte; Margaret Laurence has a similarly keen eye for provincial adolescence. W. D. Valgardson's books hark back to the Icelandic-settler community of his youth.

Starting-points are something contemporary Canadian writers often fix their interest on. Frequently, their characters find it impossible to detach themselves from the ethos of their early years. Robertson Davies's *The Deptford Trilogy*, burgeoning out into cosmopolitan comedy and urbane sequences of baroque erudition, remains rooted in the provincial as he underlined in one of the programmes, explaining that "the small town has burned itself into his worldly-wise protagonists. Margaret Atwood's fiction likewise keeps you aware of homely origins behind cultivated façades. The central figures in her latest two novels, *Life Before Man* and *Bodily Harm*, are sophisticated-seeming women whose bleak, claustrophobic is just a brittle carapace round a core of provincial, puritanical conditioning.

Neither of those books got a mention in *The Great Canadian Novel* – perhaps because, as in Toronto, their Canadian scenes are predominantly urban. A curiosity of these programmes was that – while decrying the fact that Canada has been lumbered with a national image that seems all moose and Mounties, gazelles and prairies – they kept falling back on fictional extracts that reinforced this view by describing hunting, fishing and trapping. Concluding with a piece from W. O. Mitchell that plangently harped on the pioneer-and-prairie note ("Where spinning poplars lift their dry leaves and wild sunflowers stare, like gravestones stand among the prairie grass. Over them, a rapt and endless silence lies. The soil is rich") the series left you with the sense that Canada is a country virtually devoid of cities. Montreal, for instance – whose Jewish communities and French-Canadian enclaves have received extensive and energetic fictional coverage from Mordecai Richler – was not referred to. As a map of the present-day Canadian fictional scene, *The Great Canadian Novel* had its lacunae. What made it a noteworthy venture, despite this, was its value in drawing attention to the work of individual Canadian writers – especially the country's currently under-standed trio of talents: Robertson Davies, Alice Munro and Margaret Atwood.

Back to nature

Mansel Stimpson

Fire Festival
ICA

Fire Festival is Mitsuo Yanagimachi's fourth feature film and the first to have British distribution. Its script is by Kenji Nakagami who won the Akutagawa Prize in 1976 for his novel *Mitsuki*. Three years later his earlier book *Year-Old's Plan*. Nakagami comes from Shiga in Wakayama Prefecture and the most striking aspect of *Fire Festival* is its ability to capture the atmosphere and character of a small port in southern Japan. Thanks to Yanagimachi, his photographer Masaki Tamura and his composer, the ubiquitous but remarkable Toru Takemitsu, this is vivid; what is conveyed is not merely the movement of life in the town and the grandeur of the surrounding hills but the very spirit of the region.

Kinya Kitaoji plays Tatsuo, a lumberman who trains dogs for hunting. His hostility to a scheme to buy up land, his own house included, for a marine park has led some audience to see *Fire Festival* as an ecological statement – and it is true that the unpolluted landscape is contrasted not only with the park plan but with talk of the possibility of a nuclear station being sited in the area. However, Tatsuo's beliefs are ancient not modern. His hostility to change comes from his devotion to the Mountain Goddess, to whom he offers homage

and acts of exorcism. It is a creed as primitive as the local rivalry between the sea folk and the mountain folk and as instinctive as the hostility of the townspeople to the outsider Kinya, who bestows her favours liberally, renounces her relationship with Tatsuo, who had been her lover when he was fourteen and she twelve.

A simplicity verging on mindlessness links these various elements and extends to the camaraderie of the loggers, who treat the pursuit of women much like the hunting of wild boar. Pop songs on a transistor radio are a recurrent and ironic leitmotif, set against the majesty of the scenery. But, although this can be traced, the various threads never fully come here dramatically. Characteristic of this is the fire festival of the title, a male ceremony which initiates into adulthood and the warding off of evil spirits. One learns more of the place from production notes than from the film.

The areas in which the film succeeds are not limited to the technical. The story of Tatsuo, which the Mountain Goddess is opposed by the sacrifice and retribution is carried out. The film's affinity with the forces at the heart of nature is made apparent by a finely judged episode during a storm when he accepts the role demanded by his beliefs. *Fire Festival* does not afford to have fairies which fly across the stage; she has cast the mime artist Jack Klaff as the prince who becomes the beast after assuming the hand of a self-important elemental. The costume here is almost unnecessary; Klaff's beastly, though somehow he manages to convey the man looked inside the

Cursing tales

Victoria Radin

SAM SHEPARD
A Lie of the Mind
Promenade Theatre, New York
Curse of the Starving Class
Theatre 890, New York
Fool for Love
Various cinemas

"It's as if Ernest Hemingway had written and starred in the movie version of *For Whom The Bell Tolls*", claimed a six-page cover story on Sam Shepard in *Newsweek*. The occasion of the piece – and of dozens of others – was the simultaneous openings in December of his new play, *A Lie of the Mind*, and of his own film version, in which he plays the lead, of his play *Fool for Love*. In addition, a rather uneven revival of *Curse of the Starving Class* (1978), possibly Shepard's finest play, was still attracting good audiences five months into a run off Broadway. Shepard is now the idol of the teenyboppers and, second to Shakespeare, the playwright most frequently produced in the United States, where he is reckoned the natural heir to O'Neill.

Alas, *A Lie of the Mind* is a terrible disappointment. Following the example of *Fool for Love* and his urge to polymathy, Shepard directs it himself and, more crucially, wrote it to be directed by himself. Running at four hours, with live country background music supplied by The Red Clay Ramblers, it seems a kaleidoscopic blur, verging at times on self-parody, of the themes of all his later works. Shepard has said that during rehearsals he allowed the actors to continue to evolve the play, and it is possible that he was rather too eager to listen to them. The work has an unfinished quality, both less poetic and less precise than his other recent works.

At its centre are a couple who are a step advanced in sado-masochism from the pair in *Fool for Love*. Jake (Harvey Keitel) has battered his wife Beth (the twitchy Amanda Plummer) into brain damage; each in flight from the other, they slouch to the separate bedlams of their parents' houses, where the bulk of the play takes place, awkwardly shifting from one side of the stage to the other. Here we are again, after *Buried Child* and *Curse of the Starving Class*, in the badlands of the lower-middle-class Western American family – Shepard's contribution to American drama's obsession with the hearth (the "diaper play" as one critic named it). His cartoon hyperboles of

dynastic disintegration, with their mixture of violence and grotesque humour, put him closer to Charles Addams than to O'Neill, Miller or Tennessee Williams. Jake's father, like the Old Man in *Fool for Love*, is a drunk who walked out on his family and died (his wife is still plotting her revenge and achieves it, in a way, by burning down the family house); Beth's Dad remains at home in a state of terminal disaffection, his shotgun at the ready.

Shepard's persistent theme is how love, or ties, or "lies" go wrong, that men can't live with women – or without them. (Women have the same trouble with men, though that is less important to him.) "Love – that crock of shit", says Jake's mother. "It's another disease – only it makes you feel good while it lasts." There is little evidence in any Shepard work that love ever makes you feel good; love, or this distemper, incurable obsession, a lie of the mind, is a poison, or curse, which is helplessly handed down from one generation to another. In the past, these generations were segregated into different plays. *A Lie of the Mind* brings them together, but says nothing new on a subject Shepard has treated more cogently.

The same synthesizing impulse is at work in his film-script for *Fool for Love*. The Old Man, the father of the incestuous lovers, who on the stage was meant to be a fantasy projection, is now, in the uncharismatic performance of Harry Dean Stanton (seen in the Shepard-scripted *Paris, Texas*) integrated into the action, with banal results. More successfully, Shepard inflates the memory-soliloquies of the pair into long flashbacks showing their childhood, with the alluring twist that what we see never quite matches what we hear on the voice-overs. Directed by Robert Altman, it is certainly a more coherent film than *Paris, Texas*, but it lacks the relentlessness of the original and has a lot of that earlier film's empty mythos – a landscape in search of some characters. It also shows that Shepard, for all his Gary Cooper looks and poise in a saddle, is still not one of nature's actors: gaunt and introverted, he retains a most un-filmstar-like inwardness – the sort, I imagine, that compels him to write all these cursing tales in the first place.

Sam Shepard: Seven Plays (336pp. Faber, Paperback, \$4.95, 0 571 13615 X) contains the texts of seven plays written by Shepard between 1974 and 1981, including *Curse of the Starving Class*, *Tooth of Crime*, *Buried Child*, *Savage Love* and *True West*. It has an introduction to the playwright's work by Richard Gilman.

Thoughtfully ever after

Jeanette Winterson

LOUISE PAGE
Beauty and the Beast
Old Vic

Fairy tales are valuable pieces of our imaginative inheritance because they speak to all levels of the personality. Heart and head are not divided in the fairy world. Required to give up our preoccupations with the world as we think we know it, we enter a different realm suspended in time, where magic matters, and our own lives assume a new perspective.

The story of *Beauty and the Beast* is a simple one and Louise Page leaves it uncluttered. There is no attempt to modernize either the characters or the dialogue, and this saves the play from slipping into pantomime, which would inevitably reduce the important tensions between Beauty and her family and Beauty and her beast. It is these tensions that give the play its power and keep it true to the genre from which it springs.

This faithfulness is enhanced by the director Jules Wright's wedding of tradition and innovation. Not afraid to have fairies which fly across the stage, she has cast the mime artist Jack Klaff as the prince who becomes the beast after assuming the hand of a self-important elemental. The costume here is almost unnecessary; Klaff's beastly, though somehow he manages to convey the man looked inside the

mask, reminding us in the best fairy-tale manner what looks like one thing is often another. This is also true of Beauty, whose father has to discover that his daughter has a mind of her own. The quality of resolute innocence that Joely Richardson displayed in *Wuthering* makes her an inspired choice for Beauty, who must be not naïveté; it is the opposite of self-consolousness. Heroes and heroines win through because they are not thinking about themselves.

The closing scene brings with it the humour and improbability of the conclusion of a Shakespearean comedy, where everyone suddenly ends up with the right person, on the right throne and peasants and fairies alike are joyful. Within this movement there is a note of discord, always understated to suggest that life, though transformed, still has an inherently unjust aspect. For Page, this comes with Beauty's father, who cannot accept her choice to leave his home. Like Malvolio, he is a stranger to the power of love unless it be on his own terms. We cannot pity him (the play does not allow that) but this ending sends the audience home thoughtfully as well as entertained; people don't live happily ever after unless they want to.

Beauty and the Beast by Louise Page is published by Methuen in their Women's Playhouse series in association with the Women's Playhouse Trust (44pp. Methuen, Paperback, £2.95, 0 413 58700 6).

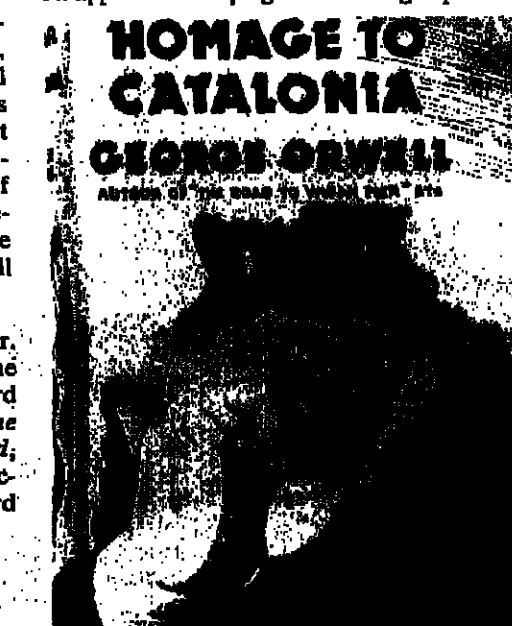
Unexpected affinities

Marc Jordan

Masterpieces of Reality: French 17th Century
Painting
Leicester Museum and Art Gallery, until
February 2

This is a rather restrictive title for an exhibition which so dramatically and intelligently reveals the rich variety of French painting in the first half of a century too often overshadowed by the normative style of Louis XIV's Versailles. That supremely successful *Gesamtkunstwerk* and the Parisian Academy which trained and supplied its creators were, however, comparative late-comers on the artistic scene. As the Leicester show demonstrates, the French Grand Style was one of the many achievements of a school which was as vigorous among the French colony at Rome and in the provinces as it was in Paris.

Juxtapositions in hanging bring this home in an often startling and invariably thought-provoking way. Among the Romans the passionate rationality of Poussin's "The Choice of Hercules" finds its natural foil in the romantic and enticing melancholy of Claude's "Landscape with Hagar and the Angel". Unpredictably the feeble, explosive fantasies of Monsù Desiderio from Metz jostle the sombre, withdrawn genre scenes of Georges de la Tour, the great, if controversial, rediscovered provincial from Lorraine. And among the Parisians a self-consciously classicizing "Allegory of Peace" by Simon Vouet nods loftily across at "A Quarrel in a Tavern" by the Le Nain brothers; while Philippe de Champaigne's full-length portrait



A first edition of George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, 1938, is to be sold at Sotheby's on January 14. The estimate is £120-£180.

AUTHOR, AUTHOR

Competition No 260

Readers are invited to identify the sources of the three quotations which follow and to send us the answers so that they reach this office not later than January 31. A prize of £20 is offered for the first correct set of answers opened on that date, or falling that the most nearly correct – in which case inspired guesswork will also be taken into consideration. Entries, marked "Author, Author 260" on the envelope, should be addressed to the Editor, *The Times Literary Supplement*, Priority House, St John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX. The solution and results will appear on February 7.

1. I was looking over and beyond everything of the present and far into the past. It was gazing out over the Ocean of Time – over lines of century waves which, further and further receding, closed nearer and nearer together, and blended at last into one unbroken tide, away toward the horizon of remote antiquity. It was thinking of the wars of departed ages; of the empires it had seen created and destroyed; of the nations whose birth it had witnessed, whose progress it had watched, whose annihilation it had noted.

2. As I looked and gazed, it terrified me to feel that she had worn that queen-like smile for nineteen centuries – that she had lain in the darkness of the earth, and still had smiled – that she had seen the slow decay of years grind her fair forehead and limbs, and yet had smiled – that now she gazed so victoriously as when she gazed on shouting worshippers, and

of Cardinal de Richelieu, with its perfect poise and lushly described drapery, finds an unexpected affinity with the luxuriant and formal flower-pieces of his fellow Fleming Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer.

Remarkably, all the works in this show, which was inspired by the Leicester Museum's purchase in 1983 of de la Tour's "The Choir-boy", are from collections in the British Isles. Very few pictures, except perhaps the two small Claudes from the National Gallery once owned by Sir George Beaumont of nearby Coleorton, will be anything like as familiar as comparable works in French collections. The Stockton-on-Tees de la Tour "The Dice Players", Champaigne's "Annunciation" from Hull, the striking Nottingham Le Brun of Hercules and Diomedes and the choice group of canvases from the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle make sufficient reason in themselves to explore further these somewhat neglected galleries, while important pictures from Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester and Dulwich stand out afresh in this context.

Not least of the pleasures of this exhibition is to encounter works which challenge our received images of particular artists. A small, simple, tender "Pieta" turns out to be by Charles Le Brun, more readily thought of as the ever-inventive impresario of Versailles. A canvas of Croesus and Solon, its actors in elaborate oriental fancy-dress, might have been painted by a follower of Rembrandt. It is by the protean Claude Vignon. And the touchingly hesitant early Poussin "Virgin and Child", garlanded in spring flowers added by Daniel Seghers, is a far cry from the marmoreal antique solemnity of his mature pictures.

There are relative unknowns here too: Jean Tassel of Dijon, with his adolescent gypsy madonnas scintillating out of Caravaggesque gloom, deserves to be more widely known; Georges de la Tour's son Etienne, who continued to paint in Lunéville in his father's manner but adding an attractive cool metallic tonality of his own; Louise Moillon, the only woman painter represented here, and an accomplished mistress of still-life; and most delightful of all, though in a very minor key, Henri Mauperché, a painter of landscape who seems to add the sweet, unreal grace and colouring of Correggio to the classical settings of Claude.

One caveat should be registered, though it is not one that ought to detract from the pleasure and interest of this stimulating exhibition. The exact status of a number of pictures, including the Leicester Museum's own much-damaged Poussin "Holy Family", is still a matter for debate and in some cases may be unresolvable. Christopher Wright's otherwise useful and informative catalogue (which also serves as a check-list of seventeenth-century French paintings in British public collections) does not always make this clear.

remains alone in majesty, unmoved by the agorization of thousands.

3 All this had been to her but as the sound of lyres and flutes, and lives on only in the delicacy with which it has moulded the changing lineaments, and tinged the eyelids and the hands. The fancy of a perpetual life, sweeping together ten thousand experiences, is an old one; and modern philosophy has conceived the idea of humanity as wrought upon by, and summing up in itself, all modes of life and thought.

Competition No 256
Winner: J.H.C. Leach

1 And now, lad, all is over
Twist you, your love and the clover
So keep a stiff upper lip
And shrink not, lad, nor shiver
But walk you down to the river
And take your final dip
Max Beerbaum, *Max in Verse*.

2 When lads have done with labour
To Shropshire, we will cry
"Let's go and kill a neighbour"
and "other answers" Aye!
Humber Wolfe, *Lampoons*.

3 Oh, no, lad, never touch your cap:
It is not my half-crown
You have it from a better chap
That long ago laid down.
A.E. Housman, *More Poems XL*.

Moulding the Grand Manner

Lindsay Stainton

ANTHONY M. CLARK
Pompeo Batoni: A complete catalogue of his works with an introductory text
 Edited by Edgar Peters Bowron
 416pp. Oxford: Phaidon. £80.
 0714823414

I will venture to prophesy, that two of the last [recent] distinguished Painters of that country, I mean Pompeo Batoni and Raffaele Mengs, however great their names may at present sound in our ears, will soon fall into the ranks of Imperiale, Sebastian Concha, Placido Constanza, Massuccio, and the rest of their immediate predecessors, whose names . . . are now fallen into what is little short of total oblivion.

Sir Joshua Reynolds's words from his fourteenth *Discourse*, delivered in the year after Pompeo Batoni's death, were to prove only too accurate. From the 1740s until he died in 1787 this "omo grande" (as Canova described him) had been the most celebrated painter in Rome, with a European reputation matched only by his rival Mengs. Yet within twenty years or so he had become almost forgotten in Britain — during his lifetime, his most fruitful source of patronage — and apart from a few polite but inconsequential notices in early nineteenth-century biographical dictionaries (evidently lifted wholesale from Italian sources, since his activity as a portrait painter, for which he had been most celebrated in this country, is barely mentioned), the natural cycle of taste gradually relegated him to limbo along with the rest of the Roman *settecento* school. His paintings were not so much despised as taken for granted (rather as Sargent's portraits were taken for granted in the middle years of this century).

In 1932, at about the time when the first stirrings of the taste for Baroque and eighteenth-century painting and decorative art made themselves felt among connoisseur-collectors, the first serious attempt to reassess Batoni's oeuvre and to establish its chronology was made by Ernst Emmerling in his doctoral thesis. However, the real credit for rescuing Batoni from oblivion belongs to the late Anthony Morris Clark (1923-76). One of the most distinguished American scholars and museum directors of his generation, Clark's greatest passion was for eighteenth-century Rome. So much did he identify with his favourite period that he even invented an *alter ego*, "Cardinal Mucciavacca" (an amalgam of Cardinal Albani — with more than a soupçon of Kirkbank's Cardinal Pirelli — Winckelmann and Clark himself), in whose name he engaged in witty correspondence with other scholars on *settecento* artistic matters. At the time of his sudden death — which occurred, appropriately enough, in Rome — he was working on two books. The first was to have been a history of painting in Rome between 1700 and 1799, the second a monograph on Pompeo Batoni. It is this latter work that has now been edited for publication by Edgar Peters Bowron. Fortunately, Clark left a mass of invaluable notes, a large and scrupulously annotated photographic archive, as well as a carefully assembled reference library.

Bowron, who in 1982 organized the first exhibition devoted to Batoni in Britain, has provided an almost faultless catalogue of works. The notes to each painting are exemplary in their thoroughness (although the gravestones treated with submissively), and almost everything is illustrated in the 415 half-tone illustrations (some of which are rather murky) and the sixteen handsome colour plates.

The introduction provides a straightforward account of Batoni's career, emphasizing his role as portrait-painter to the "Grand Tourists". Contentious as well as British, Wilkie Bowron does not attempt to imitate Clark's lively and idiosyncratic literary style. The absence of any sustained discussion of Batoni's subject-paintings, on which his reputation was originally founded and among which are some of his finest works, makes for a somewhat unbalanced picture, but it would be wrong to criticize this book for failing to be something other than the *catalogue raisonné* that was intended. In order to set Batoni more precisely in the context of the art of his time the reader must consult Clark's other posthumously published work (also admirably edited by Bow-

ron), *Studies in Roman Eighteenth-Century Painting* (1981).

Batoni had an easy familiarity with all the fashionable styles of his period: he adopted a Bolognese-derived late Baroque manner in such devotional pictures as "The Sacred Heart of Jesus"; echoed Van Dyck (for British consumption) in some of his most brilliant portraits; anticipated Greuze's neo-classic appeal to sentiment in "The Personification of 'Purity of Heart'"; and in his historical subject-pictures he rivalled the austere neo-Poussinesque style of Mengs. One suspects that Mengs would have despised chameleon-like behaviour of this sort as he himself fixed on and stuck to a conceptual and rigidly programmatic approach to painting. As Batoni's early biographer Onofrio Boni wrote, "Batoni fu più pittore che filosofo, il Mengs più filosofo che pittore". And simply as a painter and as a manipulator of surface textures (his rendering of silk, velvet and fur is extraordinarily sensuous), and in his refined and beautiful use of colour, Batoni was gifted in a way that Mengs never was.

Of the 265 surviving portraits recorded by Clark and Bowron 200, or 75 per cent, depict British and Irish sitters, while only about thirty are of Italians, a disproportion which reflects the low esteem in which portraiture seems to have been held in Italy. The extent of his popularity with British patrons, the majority of whom were youthful bachelors making the Grand Tour (he painted few portraits of Englishwomen), is not hard to explain. These portraits are the most spectacular images of young aristocrats to have been painted since the time of Van Dyck. Few of Batoni's contemporaries could match his ability to record an accurate likeness and at the same time to make it vivid and memorable, and to touch it with a grace almost entirely lacking in portraits by his

rivals Mengs and Anton von Maron. A comparison between two portraits of the same sitter, Lord Brudenell, by Batoni and Mengs (both of which are included in the current *Treasure Houses of Britain* exhibition in Washington) makes this point eloquently:



Pompeo Batoni's self-portrait (1773-4), reproduced from the book reviewed here.

Mengs shows a stolid, slightly lugubrious youth, while Batoni, in one of his undoubted masterpieces, endows his sitter with a flattering aura of sensibility. Batoni's particular talent, indispensable for a fashionable portrait-painter, lay in producing discreetly flattering images of his clients as they saw themselves, dashing young men, as sleek and elegant — and sometimes apparently as brainless — as the adoring dogs that so often accompany them.

The Grand Tour portrait in which the sitter is shown posed in front of some easily identifiable Roman monument or antiquity has its

origins in the late seventeenth century. By the early 1740s artists like Trevisani, Altieri, David, Masucci and Imperiali had made this type of painting a distinctive souvenir of a visit to Rome, but it is Batoni who deserves the credit for popularizing the genre. On occasion his compositions appear almost ludicrous in modern taste — almost as if a piece of antique statuary has come to life — but to eighteenth-century taste such obvious allusions to classical prototypes were entirely acceptable.

There is a sense in which Batoni emerges as moulder of the Grand Manner: his portraits are a mirror of the arrogance of his British contemporaries (a characteristic also to be observed in Reynolds's most ambitious portraits). Nowhere is this more apparent than in Batoni's splendid portrait of Colonel the Hon. William Gordon, an overwhelmingly romantic and dazzling personification of Scottish patriotism wearing the kilt almost as if it were a toga. Gordon stands in front of the Colosseum, his some conquering Roman hero, with a dog on foot resting casually yet authoritatively on a fragment of classical sculpture. Such was would surely have applauded Jonathan Richardson's self-congratulatory expression of British self-esteem: "no nation under heaven so nearly resembles the ancient Greeks and Romans as we. There is a haughty carriage, an elevation of thought, a greatness of taste, a love of liberty, a simplicity and honesty among us, which we inherit from our ancestors, and which belongs to us as Englishmen."

Generally speaking, eighteenth-century art is thought of very much in terms of France. The great merit of this book is that at long last Batoni is revealed as an artist of European stature, who takes his own distinctive place beside Boucher, Fragonard and Greuze.

Revealing disguises

Pat Rogers

AILEEN RIBEIRO
The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress
 476pp. Garland. \$100.
 0824059840

A title so cumbersome could only belong to a dissertation, and it invites quibbling. The very term "fancy dress" creates difficulties at the outset, which Aileen Ribeiro does not attempt to resolve in her absorbing study. "Fancy dress" is not ordinary eighteenth-century usage. The first occurrence supplied in *OED* is by Fanny Burney in 1770: Ribeiro quotes this example, and another from a magazine in the same year, describing a masquerade at Carlisle House (run by the notorious Mrs Cornelys, whose activities may not have been as suspect as Casanova indicates, but are certainly whitewashed by Ribeiro). The term seems to be a fresh coinage, though a few years earlier Horace Walpole, writing up his memoirs of the start of George III's reign, speaks of Lady Sarah Lennox presenting herself before the King in a field near Holland House in a disguised habit, "in the shape of a lady". This is close to the modern sense of disguise or fancy costume. What Fanny Burney meant was a vaguely theatrical or historical garb, not tied to a particular period or individual.

So the relation between carnival dress and the fanciful or romantic costumes worn by the sitters in eighteenth-century portraits is a tricky one. A cognate expression, which Ribeiro doesn't consider is "fancy picture": a usage traced back by *OED* no further than 1800, although it appears in Reynolds's vocabulary *Discourse* in 1788. Yet the relevance of the term to the subject is shown by her own material. For instance, Gainsborough's "Girl with Pig" mimics the pose of many a lady portrayed in the dress of Rubens's wife; Reynolds's Master Crowe turns out to echo not just Holbein but also the image of Henry VIII in the best-known pattern-book for masquerade dress. This problem of distinguishing between (fanciful) costume and masquerade habits as such is largely confined to women and

children, since men had Van Dyck garb to fall back on, and tended to wear more accurate historical costumes with less adaptation to current fashion.

Ribeiro has made two significant contributions to our understanding of the subject. First, she has brought together an immense amount of pictorial evidence, which shows the prevalence of the stock motifs in fashionable dress more clearly than ever before. This applies particularly to the long third chapter, which considers in turn the so-called "dress of Rubens's wife" (actually based on the dress worn by Helena Fourment in the Rubens portrait); female and then male fashions based on Van Dyck, Lely and Kneeller; and children's costumes with a seventeenth-century origin. Second, Ribeiro shows the important role played by pattern books, notably the most comprehensive of those surviving, that is, *A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations both Ancient and Modern* (1757), by Thomas Jefferys. This work proves to be a veritable iconology for the age, and will now be dug out far more frequently by historians of art as well as those of costume. In addition, Ribeiro advances our knowledge of the role played by drapery painters, and in particular shows how crucial a role was played by Joseph van Aken, a Fleming who worked in London during the 1720s and 1740s. His versions of the Rubens dress were important for Hudson and Davis, but also for later artists such as Ramsay and Wright.

Along with Anne Buck, Ribeiro has taken the study of eighteenth-century dress several stages on in recent years. This thesis contains useful sections on particular guises (male Hussars, Indians and Tahitians; female Sultanas and slave-girls; Dinahs and women). But it is weak on historical or ideological context, and its perfunctory opening chapter on "the background to the masquerade" ought to have been eliminated on any reprinting of the thesis. It has read-me-down accounts of the pleasure-gardens, some moderately well-digested annals of social events, and a good deal of repetition (some passages appear twice or even three times throughout the dissertation). The very first paragraph gives a heavy survey of the introduction of masquerades to England, omitting the part played by the French ambassador, and accepting Heidegger's self-promoting role

as a "Swiss count" (actually his roots were Bavarian). There is a fatal fondness for supposed historical textbooks; an inexplicable reliance on older editions of major sources (Horace Walpole in the Tynbee edition, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the Wharfedale* by Mary Wortley Montagu, and so on); and a good deal of inaccuracy in citing names, dates and places of publication. These mistakes ought to have been ironed out when the thesis was examined for a London doctorate in 1977, but since this did not happen, somebody should have vetted the text before the publisher was encouraged to charge a hundred dollars for the typescript in photographic reproduction. It should be said that the illustrations are numerous and, though not adequate to the purpose.

There is less risk these days that we shall regard the whole Georgian age as a prolonged masked ball. Its Blue Boys, its Turkish pashas, its nabobs and Otahellans, have to take their place in our sense of the period alongside foundlings and shoe-boys, balloonists and engineers, shopmen and midwives. Nevertheless, disguise is also self-revelation, and the "game" in which the Hanoverians chose to dress themselves up is eloquent of their fantasies and phobias. To be Telemachus or a Turkish despota was a decision based not only on sartorial considerations, though they obviously played their place. In particular, the licence given to women in a constricting society to free their imaginative play must have come with intoxicating novelty. Their increasing adoption of what Ribeiro calls "romantic dress" (testifies to a liberation from the masquerade stereotypes of the direction of roles that might just be visible through the clothes were packed up in the carnival was over. Harriet Byron in *St. Cleve* and *Grandison* had to be coaxed into an impossible Arcadian princess. ("They would have given me a crook, but I would not submit to that. . . I am not to have a hoop that is not conceivable. They were not hoops in Arcadia. . . a time they would not even wear hoops in the Mall; but by then the days of Ranelagh were numbered, the masquerades had closed for ever, and a shepherdess who stayed too long the fair might end up seized in her real life, snatched and dispatched to the guillotine. The century which saw an endless procession of Mary Stuarts at every costume ball, ended with Marie Antoinette.

Cheating at patience

Julian Symons

THOMAS MALLON
A Book of One's Own: People and their diaries
 318pp. Picador. Paperback. £3.50.
 0330 291327
 DANIEL AARON (Editor)
The Inman Diary: A public and private confession
 Two volumes, 1,661pp. Harvard University Press. £33.95.
 0674 45445 6

"A man who tells lies to his diary would cheat himself at patience." The phrase is meant to suggest the pointlessness of telling lies to oneself, but in fact patience players often cheat, jumping a card as they turn over the pack so that they may reach the red queen that goes on the black king, or even becoming momentarily colour-blind so that two cards of the same colour follow each other. The intention, a player might say if confronted by such deliberate error, is only the desire to make things come out right, and the diary keeper has much the same concern. A diary or journal is a kind of emotional streaking, everything on show, nothing concealed. "I expose myself entire", Montaigne claimed. "Tis a body where, at one view, the veins, muscles and tendons are apparent, every one of them in its proper place; here the effect of a cold; there of the heart beating, very dubiously."

Yet such exposure should not be equated with literal truth. The diarist or journal keeper addresses always, at least implicitly, an ideal reader. For this reader he (the masculine pronoun is used to avoid awkward phrasing, although most of the finest diarists have been men) creates a picture which corrects reality in major or minor detail, by omission or inclusion. At its least personal the diary or journal is a document of record, on another level a form of self-expression implying a strong degree of egotism, on a third an attempt to describe a world in which those thoughts and events take place. The *Crossman Diaries* are an example of the first kind, one mentioned in Thomas Mallon's engaging survey of all sorts of diaries and journals — like this reviewer Mallon regards the two as practically synonymous. He discusses dozens of very different diaries and glances at many more, so that a brief account of the diary kept by Veljko Micanovic, Tito's man in Moscow during the 1950s, is succeeded by passages from the journal kept by the unemployed busboy who intended to assassinate President Nixon but in the end shot and paralysed George Wallace, and that by a fragment of what Lee Harvey Oswald called the "Historic Diary" he kept in Moscow.

Mallon's book is divided into sections, and all these come under the heading "Apologies", a label rightly stamped also on *Crossman*. In general Mallon is a sophisticated interpreter of his material. He sees the two assassins as dressing up in "tacky rhetorical finery" their concern to become celebrated, so that Oswald gives a post-dated account of a suicide attempt, and bushy Arthur Bremer laments that Wallace's death won't be much of a story, so that selves up is eloquent of their fantasies and phobias. To be Telemachus or a Turkish despota was a decision based not only on sartorial considerations, though they obviously played their place. In particular, the licence given to women in a constricting society to free their imaginative play must have come with intoxicating novelty. Their increasing adoption of what Ribeiro calls "romantic dress" (testifies to a liberation from the masquerade stereotypes of the direction of roles that might just be visible through the clothes were packed up in the carnival was over. Harriet Byron in *St. Cleve* and *Grandison* had to be coaxed into an impossible Arcadian princess. ("They would have given me a crook, but I would not submit to that. . . I am not to have a hoop that is not conceivable. They were not hoops in Arcadia. . . a time they would not even wear hoops in the Mall; but by then the days of Ranelagh were numbered, the masquerades had closed for ever, and a shepherdess who stayed too long the fair might end up seized in her real life, snatched and dispatched to the guillotine. The century which saw an endless procession of Mary Stuarts at every costume ball, ended with Marie Antoinette.

tended as documents of record even though they are not quite that, and probably most diaries are of this class. Somewhere between the recorders and the confessors are those who began to keep a diary and found it a habit difficult to break. Harold Nicolson, questioned by his son Nigel, said keeping his diary became a habit, and that publication never entered his head. No doubt he meant what he said, but his motives were inevitably more complex. A diary, as Nigel Nicolson says, may sustain and reassure, it can take the place of pep pills or be used as an evacuator for despair as many poets alleviate their neuroses in verse. Yet the most interesting diaries are not those written by modestly and cautiously self-regarding figures like Nicolson, nor the diaries composed by what Mallon calls confessors, among whom he includes writers of work that may be partly or wholly fictitious. Examples of these are *A Young Girl's Diary*, much praised by Freud, *My Secret Life* by "Walter" and the pseudonymous *9½ Weeks* by "Elizabeth McNeill". All of these pose problems of authenticity, of a quite different kind from those involved in speculating whether Boswell or Rousseau was always telling the truth. There is, as Mallon says, a suspicion that the mysterious donor of *A Young Girl's Diary* "jazzed it up a bit", and although the American critic Steven Marcus has gone to bat for the authenticity of "Walter", and *9½ Weeks* was praised as a factual masterpiece by some American critics, both seem so obviously fabricated that the burden of factual proof must rest as heavily on their advocates as on those who thought the Hitler Diaries genuine. Without such proof "Walter" and "Elizabeth McNeill" must be regarded as no more than pornographic fictioneers, where the true diarist sets out to correct the astigmatism of reality.

Discussion of such dubious journal keepers, however, only adds an attractive gloss to Mallon's glimpses of chroniclers and travellers, pilgrims and creators, many of them unfamiliar on this side of the Atlantic. One would like to meet more closely George Templeton Strong, a New Yorker who in the 1830s and after thought his city on the way to becoming the world's finest, and by way of proving it gave an account of its heat, crime, drunkenness and gang warfare at a length far exceeding the diary of "old Pepsy, my prototype", as Strong called him. To come more nearly up to date, Aram Saroyan's *Last Rites*, about his dying father William, sounds appalling but interesting. We are told that "it is an odd combination of spontaneity and contrivance" and such a combination, variously mixed, characterizes the most fascinating diarists. It fits Boswell, who is often said to have invented James Boswell as well. It fits George Sand, and the Wilde who wrote *De Profundis*, and Pepsy whose "willingness to be a booby" is surely intended, a part of his tricky art. The diarist has in mind the ideal reader already mentioned, yet writes also for himself alone: this is the basic contradiction that few diarists can bring themselves to face.

Arthur Crew Inman, whose diaries, kept for some forty years from the year 1919 onwards, are now published in a greatly abbreviated form still totalling more than 1,600 pages, accepted it fully. He desired posthumous publication as in youth he had longed for poetic fame, and gave frequent instructions to a conjectural editor, suggesting where probing shears might be used, advising against expurgation of material on moral grounds; stressing that there should be "a thorough recording of paragraphs . . . since I am very conscious of the visual inadvisability of such thick, such long, such unbroken paragraphs as to save paper and space, I generally use". The diaries as we have them, a small fraction of the whole, are fascinating particularly because they show, perhaps more clearly than any others ever published, the tendency of diarists to create a private world even when writing about the public one. Less unusual, but still remarkable, is the intensity of Inman's egotism, the importance he attached to every detail of his life. *The Life and Opinions of Arthur Inman*, even in this greatly abbreviated form, might have been intolerably tedious, but they have been shaped by his editor Daniel Aaron into what is effectively a work of art. The first section, "Arthur, Remember", in which Aaron excerpts material from many later re-

through the whole length of the diary, is a model of tactful editorial reconstruction. Throughout the book the editorial comments and linking passages are well chosen, informative, and — most remarkable of all in view of Inman's opinions and behaviour — consistently sympathetic. It is the greatest possible tribute to Aaron that when, near the end, he refers to Inman as "this flawed and sad creature, so gifted and so spoiled", we accept his assessment as the right one.

Inman was born in Atlanta in 1895, into a family whose wealth was based on cotton. An only child, he seems to have been treated with indulgence, alternating with occasional strictness, during childhood and youth. By his own account his father had wanted a girl, and thought of adopting one, although nothing came of it. At local Southern schools and later during five unhappy years at Haverford School in Pennsylvania, Arthur was bullied because of his small size, but fought back and survived. At the age of twenty-one, having passed from Haverford School to the more congenial Haverford College, he collapsed. The collapse had been preceded, according to Arthur, by various preliminary warnings. He had strained his heart while climbing a mountain, had chinned himself too often so that "something ripped in my chest", his collar-bone had "flipped in and out at such a rate that I had to give up golf". It is perhaps significant that all of these troubles came while he was engaged in energetic and manly pursuits. He was removed from college, and received treatment at the family summer place in Maine and in Boston, all in vain. "Thirty-four eminent doctors" looked on him, and most of them pronounced his problems to be not physical but mental. They included gastric troubles, blurred vision, migraines, sprains, colds, and a curiously elastic pelvis that was always slipping out of place. Arthur rejected the doctors as shams or cheats and turned to osteopaths, in particular to the rumbustious back-slapping former big-game hunter Dr Pike, who had powerful hands and was also a "peerless psychologist".

In 1919 Arthur moved into Garrison Hall, an apartment hotel in Boston's Back Bay, where he lived for the rest of his life. Given a comfortable allowance by the bewildered but sympathetic father whom he detested, he acquired a manservant, a chauffeur, and in 1923 a wife. Evelyn Yates Inman is called by Aaron the heroine of the diary, although in truth it has only a hero. Evelyn had her own apartment in Garrison Hall and their marriage lasted, with many quarrels and some temporary separations, until Arthur shot himself in 1963. Evelyn is the chief female character in the diary, but there are many others. They are the "talkers" who responded to Arthur's advertisements in the *Boston Evening Transcript* for "Persons who have had interesting experiences . . . to talk to an invalid". The fee offered was at first \$1 an evening, later increased to an hourly rate. The responses that interested Arthur most were from young women. Lying in a darkened room, sometimes for twenty hours a day — although on other days he would go out, drive a car, ride a horse — he would listen to tales of their emotional and sexual experiences. Sometimes they would lie on the bed with him and indulge in petting. Occasionally, but not often, intercourse would take place. During one of his rare copulatory sessions he observed: "I thought the darn thing would never end. It hurt my back", and he explained to a woman who "gave me the complete freedom of my body" that "my side had incapacitated me sexually for the last three months". All this conduct was known to Evelyn, who knew too of Arthur's eagerness to spy on naked women, and would sometimes call him to look at such scenes as a man and his wife seen across the courtyard naked in their bathroom. "I wanted no time, I looked through a crack in the curtain. I related the show."

Arthur, then, was a sexual super-creep. Add to this super-creepiness the facts that he was in favour of lynching negroes, who raped white women, admired Hitler for many things but in particular for his persecution of the Jews, detested Irish Americans almost as much as Jewish Americans, called Roosevelt "Rooseie the Rat", and went when he heard of Senator Joe McCarthy's death, and it may be wondered how Daniel Aaron can possibly have used those friendly phrases. Yet there is no doubt

that Inman had, even at his worst moments, a curious naive charm, and that he was a highly talented writer. He began as a poet, and published several books. We are denied the texts of any poems, but titles like *One Who Dreams*, *First Frost* and *Bubbles of Gold* are unpromising, and in the end he accepted his lack of poetic talent. His prose is another matter. His ability to re-create rooms and scenes in every detail (especially those of his childhood) is remarkable, and the exteriors of people are seen with Dickensian vividness:

Father's movements were quick, jerky, like a bird's. His hair was so dark as to seem black; he wore it parted on one side, brushed smooth, and in front was a cowlick like a jaunty crest which gave him an alert appearance. His forehead was narrow at the temples, sloped slightly backwards from the fairly thick-lensed gold spectacles he wore. His nose was large and florid below his small-pupilled hazel eyes. His moustache was sandy red. His lower lip was slightly full, his chin firm, his teeth uneven. He was always very neatly dressed, and this was all the more obvious because of the fact that the majority of Southern men made a rather sloppy appearance even to my eyes. Father wore high patent-leather shoes. You could see the ends of his long drawers under his black lisle socks when his knees were crossed. He smoked cigars, used the brass spittoon constantly.

A photograph of Henry A. Inman shows the accuracy of the verbal portrait. Pictures of Arthur himself show a plump-faced pouting baby, a young man with petulant mood and anxious expression, hardening into a face still anxious but more severe, with furrows in the cheeks and pouting mouth now decisively turned down. The attention to physical appearance in the description of his father was inevitable, so that almost all of the "talkers" are physically individuated in relation to size, clothing, speech, manner, even walk and posture. Their romantic, erotic or hard-luck stories are set down at length, and with genuine interest. Arthur gave them advice and sympathy as well as money, doing his best to play a surrogate part in their lives. They included, in spite of his prejudices, a black girl and a Jewess as well as literally dozens of others of very various occupations and proclivities. He had a permanent fear of being cheated and blackmailed, but although some of the women and girls were out for what they could get, others felt genuine affection for this curious figure, a permanent child who longed for reassurance even more than for admiration, and for the solace of physical contact more than for the sexual act. "Can't understand how you like feeling so many women", Evelyn said, but although Arthur tried to convince himself that he would like to be "pushed into the maelstrom" of passion, feeling was really enough for him. His attachments, basically emotional, were not confined to women. The many chauffeurs, manservants and general factotums soon became friends rather than servants; and were the basis of much petty intrigue and occasional jealousy. Much affection was given to Dr Pike, who after his death in 1949 turned out to have been bedding Evelyn for twelve years. Arthur's discovery of this led to endless discussions and violent arguments, set down in precise conversational detail.

How do we know that all, or even very much of this is true? The Inman diaries create a world and its people — Garrison Hall and its owners the Machs, complaisant but quarrelsome Evelyn, the retinue of servants, helpers, secretaries, medicine men and near lovers at the court of King Arthur, but is it simply a world of fiction, or did Arthur really live in it? How much is his account of his father's dislike of him, and the constant stress on his early courage and manliness in face of bullying to be believed? Was he merely an impotent "Walter", fantasizing about the sexual contacts he never made? Aaron mentions such problems, but never really tries to solve them. A lengthy medical report (posthumous) at the end of the book suggests that Arthur's physical condition "was cruelly complicated by medical maltreatment", which may well have been true but does not take us far. About the accuracy of what he set down in relation to his personal life, distinct from his rant about blacks, Jews and society in general, one cannot be sure. The overwhelming sense of guilt attributed to Evelyn seems baseless and hence unlikely, as does some of her conduct. The willingness of so many girls and women to be felt at Arthur's bed parties appears unlikely. Some conversations,

especially with Evelyn, are so logical, explicit and detailed that they read like passages in a novel.

The book's final section, "Arthur Doomed", compresses the last twelve years of the diaries into a mere seventy pages, and mentions an "engaging and uninhibited charmer" (Aaron's description) whose sexual ingenuity so roused Arthur that he warned himself: "Be careful, O my foolish, risk-taking, danger-loving man", and obeyed the warning by sealing up the diary volume that included the account of their relationship and substituting another "ostensibly covering the same period and filled with spurious entries". Could there be a clearer case of cheating at patience? Is not the safe and sensible thing to regard the whole work as what the editor calls a "non-fiction novel"? Against such a view must be set the very strong feeling of authenticity that comes through, particu-

larly in the first fifteen years of the diary. There is a markedly greater care in shaping conversations and putting a literary polish on events, as well as more injunctions to a possible editor, in the later part of the record.

An intimate diary like Arthur Inman's is rare, and of its kind this is a supreme example. Such a work can be produced only by a combination of qualities, a combination perhaps not particularly desirable. The diarist himself, in one of the passages showing his insight and self-knowledge, described them as early as 1920:

During the past two years I have studied the manner and method of a fair number of personal diaries and memoirs. I have come to the conclusion that no very personal record such as this may be written without causing the reader to label the author as an introspective and hypochondriacal weakling living, to an unwholesome and inexcusable degree, within himself.

Making up the truth

Michael Sheringham

PAUL JOHN EAKIN
Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the art of self-invention
288pp. Guildford: Princeton University Press.
£21.70.
0691 06640 X

We readily grant that there is a room for truth in the house of fiction but the reverse seems dubious: can there really be room for fiction in literary edifices, like autobiographies, where truth seems paramount? It all depends, of course, on what is meant by fiction. Conceived as the antithesis of truth it is obviously a liability to be expunged at all costs, but pictured another way, as the product of a deeply-rooted human faculty, fiction can emerge resplendent, as truth's handmaiden.

Such, very broadly, is the plot of Paul John Eakin's timely and rewarding contribution to the rapidly maturing study of autobiography. Basing his argument on pleasurably intricate and convincing readings of autobiographies by Mary McCarthy, Henry James, Jean-Paul Sartre, Saul Friedländer, and Máxine Hong Kingston, Professor Eakin makes an informed, lively multi-faceted case for fiction as an agent of truth in the process of self-invention which he identifies at the core of the autobiographical impulse. In an autobiography what may most profitably be scrutinized, he argues, is not the match or mismatch between written record and extra-textual "fact" but "the play of the autobiographical act itself, in which the materials of the past are shaped by memory and imagination to serve the needs of present consciousness". In his acute reading of McCarthy's *Memoirs of a Catholic Girlhood* Eakin identifies shifts, over the long period of composition, in the demands the autobiographer places on her past, particularly as regards the parents she lost in early childhood.

In James's case, too, the text serves as "an instrument to negotiate...and renegotiate...the terms of an individual's psychological reality". Turning to autobiography at a time when he felt his creative powers to be at a low ebb, James portrays his boyhood largely in terms of his recurrent dawdling and gaping, proclivities which, in the complexity of his autobiographical discourses, receive ambiguous evaluations, now positive as they inaugurate the commitment to the "life of impressions" on which the mature artist's work will be based, now negative as they portend the marginalization, the exclusion from life's hustle and bustle, the impotence which, confronted by relative failure (of his plays, or the New York edition of his novels), James could still see as his portion. The pressure of the present pulls the biographical facts of the individual's past (most strikingly James's ambivalent view of his failure to fight in the Civil War) into patterns which both reflect the past's abiding power to claw, and answer to imperative needs in the writer's present.

In the second half of the book Eakin establishes a broader base for his rehabilitation of fiction to autobiography, linking it first to the idea that narrative is endemic to our daily self-awareness, that we habitually turn our experiences into stories; second, to the idea that

there is something specifically linguistic about selfhood: the acquisition of language and of a sense of self are intertwined, to know oneself is to find a name and voice; and third, to the idea that a culture proposes model narratives of selfhood. Conceived as an existential act, writing an autobiography would be an extension of processes in which selfhood is already embedded; it would be to repeat and re-stage (often metaphorically) past self-imaginings through which we became who we are.

Admirably executed though it is, with consistent elegance and critical probity, Eakin's naturalization of autobiography is not without perils. The reading of *Les Mots*, for example, overstates the parallel between the child Sartre's "addiction to plot" and the autobiographer's "employment" of his erstwhile self, and underestimates the ferocious irony with which Sartre treats our inveterate desire to live a life as if it were a story. Eakin is right to query the view (fatal to much autobiography) that experience and narrative are antithetical, and to suggest a reciprocity between self-narration in the head and on the page, but he does not allow sufficiently for the autobiographer (Michel Leiris, for instance) who sees narrative order as an impudent intrusion on his sense of experience. Similarly, the speculations on language, culture and identity which provide a good frame of analysis for Friedländer's renegotiation of the Jewish past he had once sought to deny, or the verbal ceremonies through which Kingston seeks to lay the ghosts of a Sino-American childhood, are perhaps given too much weight in the effort to present autobiography as an (optional) phase in the life-enhancing business of self-invention.

An innocent abroad

Fleur Adcock

JANET FRAME
The Navy from Mirror City: Autobiography 3
176pp. The Women's Press, £8.95.
07043 2875 5

"Mirror City" is the city of the imagination, in which the miscellaneous debris of experience is transformed into fiction. This third volume of Janet Frame's autobiography deals in facts, but its constant undercurrent is a preoccupation with fiction: not just with the individual novels and short stories she wrote during the eight or so years it covers, but with the attributes and processes of the craft itself. Arriving in London in the 1930s she finds herself with nowhere to stay because her letter has gone astray; for a moment the practical problem seems unimportant: beside "the fictional gift of the loss" returning to New Zealand in 1963 after her father's death she sorts out some of his shabby treasured belongings for her sister and sees herself "trapped within one of the great themes of fiction - the gift, the given".

In the years between these two points Frame's life was mostly ordinary enough - a series of variously grim lodgings in London, mornings at her typewriter (which she hid in the wardrobe when the National Assistance Inspector called, in case he should seize it), afternoons at the cinema, halfhearted

Virginia Llewellyn Smith

O. A. GOLINENKO, S. A. ROZANOVA, B. M. SHUMOVA, I. A. POKROVSKAYA and N. I. AZAROVA
The Diaries of Sofia Tolstaya
Translated by Cathy Porter
1,043pp. Cape, £30.
0224 022709

"I've been crying all day on my own and can't stop myself." The words are not those of Sonia (Sofia) Tolstoy, much criticized for the lachrymose tone of her diaries, but her husband's, addressed to his disciple Chertkov. What upset Tolstoy was the difficulty of practising the ascetic life in a nest of the gentry, well feathered by royalties, all of it representing a past he had repudiated.

Marriage to a vivacious girl of conventional background had seemed like a good idea at the time. During the writing of *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* Sonia became Tolstoy's critic, amanuensis, proof-reader and publisher. The great novels meant celebrity and money, but to Sonia more than that - they were the fruit of her happiest married years. There were children too - thirteen finally, of whom eight lived to grow up. Educating them, darning socks and cutting out new underwear are the prosaic stuff of Sonia's diaries, but she was no slacker, and a sense of duty bolstered her self-respect.

What undermined it was the problem of sex. Not really a question of too much, though she resented Tolstoy's veto on contraceptives, nor of too little, though it hurt her when he would not sleep with her because she was pregnant. It was simply that Tolstoy couldn't keep quiet about it. His belief that sex was an evil was as profound as Sonia's humiliation when he spoke and wrote openly about "the tragedy of the bedroom". This damper on their sexuality led to explosions of possessiveness. Sonia would take refuge in hysteria, Tolstoy in cold rationality. When, frantic with grief after the death of her youngest son, Sonia sought consolation in romantic fantasies about a musician called Tanev, her husband minded exceeding-

ly. His account of what went on in the Tolstoy bedroom, written down ostensibly for the benefit of Sonia's sister, went as follows: "She: I am sure there is nothing bad in it. I: No, the exceptional feeling of an old married woman for a strange man is a wrong feeling. She: It is not a feeling for him as a man but as a human being. I: But this human being is a man. She: For me he is not a man. It is not an exceptional feeling. I: Why are you lying?" and so on and on, till the reader begs, as Sonia did, for mercy. The squeaks from her own pen are only intel-

ligible as a protest against that relentless pounding. Tolstoy had the power of a sledge hammer, and Sonia was the nut that he cracked.

The driving force of Tolstoy's life was his unremitting pursuit of the last word, the ultimate ruling - a compulsion which worked intermittently against his natural literary talent that restless vitality and that feeling for the mediate physical experience that make a deal like Anna's sudden response to Karenina's worth ten portentous generalizations on the lines of "As-is-always-the-case-when-a-beautiful-woman-blows-her-nose". It is not surprising that Tolstoy could draw much more than pen-portraits of the individual children than Sonia could; nor that, pondering wider issues, he seemed a remote father, particularly to his sons (his daughters were deeply influenced by him, especially the two plain ones, his mother's least favourites). To Sonia he was willfully neglecting the family's interests and what she believed to be his true gifts (which clearly, were a reflection of the man he loved). Who would pay, the diary demands, the house bills with uncouth Tolstoyans seeing the truth or a hand-out - for Tolstoy's topiary and bicycles? Feet of clay, muddy boots, it all became a morass of misery. The fee dispute over copyright was hideously exacerbated by Sonia's jealousy of Chertkov, a tall fish in whom Tolstoy sought the affectionate response that Sonia, more frenetically, sought in him.

Sonia hoped that "intelligent people" would read her diaries and understand. It is not hard to sympathize with her, even while dismissing hysterical exaggeration (of which there is plenty) from accurate observation. Tolstoy, an old man morbidly afraid of dying, is recorded pouring scorn on the medical profession which had recently saved his life, "a naive grin on his face". That rings true. The most fundamental truth, that Sonia was obsessed with her husband until and beyond his death, is all too evident.

Here, well translated, is the most recent Soviet edition of the diaries, complete with meticulous cross-references and notes (though a curious slip gives Tolstoy's height as 6'7", physically he was no giant). No one seriously interested in Tolstoy, as opposed to Tolstism, can afford to ignore it; a necessary complement to the new translation of his diaries could be used to set the record straight. But Sonia herself was capable of seeing that she did what to whom was not ultimately the important thing. "We love them not for their love or how they appear to us", she wrote, bracketing Tolstoy and Tanev with characteristic artlessness, "but for that dream, deep and endless, from which their art flows".

friendship with people as solitary and displaced as herself, occasional terrifying encounters with the polished, confident inhabitants of the world she coveted: an agent, a publisher, a "real" writer. But there were also adventures. This shy woman, who was chilled with fear by a proper "English" accent, and frozen into silence at tea-parties, travelled alone to live for some months (as instructed by her New Zealand mentors) in Ibiza; naturally she lost her luggage; almost as predictably, when it eventually returned to her she no longer wanted it. She learnt Spanish, made friends, had experiences (impatient readers of the first two volumes who have been exercised by speculations about her virginity will find their curiosity satisfied). After Ibiza her combination of adventurousness and passivity led her into an even more unlikely situation in Andorra. Fictional possibilities were always able to lure her away, briefly, from contemplating the common-sense answers to "What would it be like if...".

The unworldliness and passive obedience of the Janet Frame described in much of this book are extraordinary. (She was, after all, in her thirties, a published author travelling on a literary grant, not a student straight from school.) In part her innocence is a matter of temperament, and is what gives her style its freshness and ability to startle, but it was reinforced by her early history. She had spent most of her twenties in, or in-between mental hospitals in

New Zealand, mistakenly diagnosed as schizophrenic; when this label was finally stripped from her, by a doctor at the Maudsley Hospital in London, she was left shivering with exposure: no more adept than before at dealing with the social and practical complexities she had been shielded from, but no longer enabled, so she felt, to ask for help. Fortunately the staff at the Maudsley were able to lead her through this transition, and the half-dozen books she wrote and published while in London grew out of her a much-needed sense of her own worth. By the time she left England she had learnt that her own opinions and choices were more, and less, valid than those imposed on her by well-meaning others.

Her real reason for leaving home was not her father's death but her realization that to live in New Zealand, a country scarcely depicted in literature but the one imprinted with her earliest memories, was essential for her imagination. In London, and particularly in Suffolk (where she found herself living for a time as a curator of a ninety-foot lily bed), she had experienced a sensation of falseness; cabbage trees and tussock-grass were more significant for her, and more in need of description, than English lilies. The book, and for the time being the autobiography as a whole, ends with a bold glance ahead at her life as a writer, with "overseas reputation" but committed to living in New Zealand. The rest is being saved, as it may be needed, for her fiction.

The bacillus and its legacy

Keith Wrightson

PAUL SLACK
The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England
443pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul, £25.
07102 0469 8

We all know about the plague: the boarded-up houses; the doors marked with crosses and "Lord Have Mercy Upon Us"; the fires burning in the empty streets; the burial pits; the death carts; "Bring out your dead!" These are as familiar a part of the popular historical imagination as they are alien to our own experience. Plague is a reference point in our sense of the past.

It is scarcely surprising, then, that it has never lacked for historians. In recent years it has attracted the attention, above all, of historical demographers anxious to determine its influence on the population history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In their graphs and tables plague has been measured as never before. It has been assessed too and demoted from its former status as grand demographic regulator to that of a periodic cause

of short-term mortality crises, dreadful in their immediate impact, to be sure, but of little lasting significance. Historical demography has put plague into perspective. In the process, however, something of the experience of the plague itself has been lost.

Paul Slack, in contrast, is principally preoccupied with the social meaning of plague in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England, with what he terms "the social response" - the ways in which people tried to control, interpret and come to terms with the disease. Though no mean demographer himself, his concern is with plague less as a devourer of mankind than as "a personal affliction and a social calamity". His purpose is to reconstruct "the complex interaction of disease and society".

He succeeds splendidly. The immediate impact of plague is brought home in a series of chapters intended to demonstrate the dimensions of the problem which contemporaries faced. National surveys of parish registers and probate records and painstaking and imaginative analyses of the plague in the counties of Devon and Essex, the cities of Exeter, Bristol and Norwich and the metropolis of London are employed to establish three essential points. First, plague was the commonest single cause

of demographic disaster in the period. Second, if plague was frequent and familiar, it was also irregular and unpredictable in its chronology. Major epidemics were commonly the result of the introduction of a more virulent strain of disease from abroad and such incursions had an arbitrary quality. Third, and crucially, the incidence of epidemic mortality was not random; it was to a large extent socially determined. Plague was above all a disease of the towns and of villages rendered vulnerable by their urban contacts. Within the towns, moreover, mortality developed an increasingly predictable topography. While the plague bacillus was no respecter of persons, mortality was worst in the expanding pauper suburbs of English cities and in the squalid alleys which lay behind the imposing houses of the richer central parishes. A disease carried by rats and transmitted by fleas thrived best in an environment of dense and dilapidated housing where large numbers of people with few or no changes of clothing lived in close proximity to one another, and to rats, fleas and filth. And where it took root the cost was ghastly. Up to a third of the local population could be swept away. Far more bore the burden of prolonged sickness. Death was concentrated in time - a

few devastating months - and clustered in family groups. Though the epidemics had little long-term influence on either population trends or economic developments, their short-term effect produced havoc and dislocation and they left behind a legacy of broken families and impoverishment.

Slack's anatomy of the plague would be a sufficient achievement in itself, combining as it does skilful synthesis with arresting new research findings, a firm delineation of national trends with illuminating local detail. These, however, are prolegomena to the examination of the "social response". We are introduced to the "eclectic collection of assumptions" which contemporaries held about plague. The disease was regarded as a divine judgment, but one executed through the secondary causes of a pestilential contagion bred in the noisome environment of the slums. It was associated therefore with both moral and social disorder and both perceptions encouraged activism by public authorities, the more so in that plague seemed yet another, and a peculiarly threatening and revolting dimension of the problem posed by the urban poor. The outcome was the gradual development of draconian regulations intended to contain infection and maintain order. In the final analysis they were probably of limited effectiveness. England's freedom from plague after 1666 may have owed more to the sophisticated quarantine procedures of France and Italy than to the Plague Orders. The evidence produced by their implementation, however, enables Slack to depict vividly the impact of plague and the varied responses it evoked. At the level of the individual there were heroism and cowardice, stoical endurance and desperate fury, prostrating grief and callous humour. At the level of social relations the experience of plague was above all divisive, infecting all too often the relationships of kinsfolk and neighbours, masters and servants, rich and poor. Urban society survived, but at a terrible cost, and one which was borne principally by its weakest members.

This is a harrowing and compelling book. It is an exceptionally fine piece of social history; a sensitive, mature and deeply humane exploration of a central social problem and its consequences for social relationships and attitudes, vibrant with implications for the broader social history of the period. It also deserves a far wider audience than that of academic history, not least because of the broader relevance of this case-study of human response to crisis and of the manner in which the prejudices of an age shape its perception of social problems and its preferred solutions.

The possessive case

W. M. Lamont

DAVID ZARET
The Heavenly Contract: Ideology and Organisation in pre-revolutionary Puritanism
214pp. University of Chicago Press, £21.50.
0226 97882 6

David Zaret propounds the thesis that "The idea of a heavenly contract, uniting God and humanity in a bargain of salvation, emerged as the keystone of Puritan theology in early modern England". (This statement is lifted straight from the publisher's blurb.) Zaret claims two aspects of Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes. Hitherto scholars have studied them separately. Zaret brings them together and applies them to Max Weber's thesis about Puritanism to have been responsible for this development: "covenant theology", and the growing lay involvement in religious changes

North-west frontier province

J. J. Wilkes

EDITH MARY WIGHTMAN
Gallia Belgica
386pp. Batsford. £19.95.
0713446099

The Roman province which forms the subject of this scholarly book was created from one of Caesar's three parts of Gaul. The peoples of Belgica, who included the Nervii and were reckoned by Caesar bravest of all the Gauls, occupied a great box of territory defined by the Rhine, the North Sea, the Seine and the Vosges. What is now the heart of a new Europe was once, like Britain, the remote north-west of Rome's Mediterranean empire. In AD 9 the German Arminius destroyed the army of Varus and ended a nascent Roman province of Germany: the legions were to remain for ever along the west bank of the Rhine. We cannot tell how much the brooding presence of eight legions along the Rhine impeded the advance to prosperity under the Pax Romana in Belgica and the other provinces of Gaul. Even so the rapid Romanization of Caesar's conquests offers a striking contrast with the Roman experience in Spain, where two centuries of fighting left the Romans with a still precarious hold over the Asturians and Cantabrians in the north. With Gaul, as Ronald Syme put it, "the calm of acquiescence in the burdens of Roman rule and the peace which prevailed was such as to baffle the old renown of the Gauls and move Roman and German alike to surprise and even scorn".

In the early days, under the Julio-Claudians up to AD 70, many of the Gallic nobles appear to have embraced eagerly a personal clientship of the Caesars, signified by the large number of new Roman citizens with the name Julius and by the great altar of Rome and Augustus inaugurated at the confluence of the rivers outside Lyon in 12 ac.

For all that, the Roman hold on those whose ancestors had once sacked Rome and scattered the phalanx of Macedon remained fragile. When it came to the actual matter of being governed – registration of property and the prospect of regular taxation – there was a furious reaction. Worse still the immediate military responsibility was on C. Julius Licinus, a Gaul captured, enslaved and later freed by Caesar. Fraud was bad enough (Licinus was later famed as the inventor of a fourteen-month tax year) but the affront to dignity was too much. In the end the matter was carried through after threats to send in the army.

The role of Druids in these and other troubles appears to have been symbolic rather than effective. Though in Britain they may have been more potent, it emerges from Edith Mary Wightman's account that after a century of Roman rule they were on the margins of society in Gaul. Thus in the turbulent events of AD 69–70 an uprising in Gaul was well under way before Druids came out of their lairs to proclaim Gallic freedom. Nearly half a century before there had been serious trouble among the Treviri around Trier in the Mosel valley. The dissident was one Julius Florus but his schemes were foiled by his fellow noble Julius Indus, evidently more from instinctive dislike of a rival than from any fondness towards Rome. Indus' own native cavalry appears as a generation later as the Ala Indiana – a permanent regiment of the Roman army – which was for some years around AD 70 based at Clarendon. Perhaps the most telling insight into the special relations between Indus and his like and Rome was the role played by the imperial finance officer Julius Classicianus in Britain during the repression in the aftermath of Boudicca's rebellion in AD 60. While urging the Britons to hold out for better times he told Rome that the rebellion would end only with a change of government, a disgraceful action in the eyes of Tacitus. We learn not from the historian but from an epitaph at London that Classicianus was a Gaul and in fact the son-in-law of Julius Indus.

During the civil wars after the death of Nero, last of the Julio-Claudians, many in Gaul were tempted to find an end to their loyalty to the house of Caesar, even to think of an "Empire of the Gauls". When that enterprise had foundered on old jealousies and reviled divisions the truth of their condition was revealed

to them by the Roman general Cerealis, if Tacitus' version of his speech is anywhere near authentic, in a powerful harangue. He recalled how much they had suffered once from the Germans, their own tyrants and civil wars until peace and security came with the Romans. But they had to learn that there could be no order between nations without armies, no armies without pay and no pay without taxation. Everything else is shared, there is no discrimination and there is nothing that is closed.

The Romanization of Belgica in the later first and early second centuries, under the Flavians and Antonine emperors, is treated in four chapters which form the heart of the book. Their subjects are the growth of towns, rural life, trade and economy, and society, culture and religion. Each is crammed with digests of the evidence from archaeology and inscriptions. Some topics include those treated by Professor Wightman in specialist journals where the evidence is carefully sifted and the argument of others accepted or refuted. Perhaps inevitably some of the vigour and freshness is lost as the arguments are compressed to permit inclusion of much factual description, while what little evidence there is for a narrative history of Belgica in the Empire is, like matters of military history, too severely pruned back for the needs of most readers. Yet the volume repays more than the labour of its reading. What emerges is a remarkable study of the interconnections between a Mediterranean empire and a part of the most dynamic people of central and north-west Europe.

The Romanization of Belgica, though in the outcome all-embracing, was effected by exter-

nal influences upon a population which remained the same as when Caesar arrived. New-comers were specialists of one sort or another – traders or technicians – whose role was gradually taken over by natives. Through such external contact the spread of Roman influence was at first restricted to the great new Roman roads across the province, highways to the army on the Rhine. Some, notably the renowned Nervii and the Treviri, left their homes for service with the Roman army, not only in Gaul but also along the Danube and in the imperial guard at Rome. An education of the native upper classes fostered a taste for imported goods from the Mediterranean and the forsaking of a traditional way of life. What were once the exotic possessions of a few aristocrats came mass-produced along the roads now secure for the traffic of merchants. The "native element" which survived in Roman Belgica did so ironically through the medium of imported techniques in metalworking and stone-carving. Notions that there was a native renaissance or even a conscious reaction to Roman forms, expressed through native deities in sculpture and fashions in ornament, are rightly dismissed by Wightman.

The Romans created cities. From these emanated the social and political order of the Roman Empire, rank through public office, with local councils and magistrates codifying the existing ties of nobles and clients. New avenues for a career and an enhanced status above and beyond the homeland were a lure to the ambitious that led over the years to a widening of class differences. If the Roman villa is the most obvious relic of the new order in the

countryside it was the much increased domination of money among the rural classes that was the most profound change. "To judge by the solemn way they clutch their purses on tombstones, their wealth was to them both real and important, a compensation for the status they could not claim." If the material evidence is the making of a part of "long-haired" Gauls, a Latin-speaking province of the Roman Empire can, as here, be described in detail. It remains still hard to identify the dynamic mechanism of change. For some the Roman army is invoked as the agent of change, at least in the first and second centuries AD when the notions of "Roman" and "native" are still generally valid. All the same the Roman army surely too often and implausibly portrayed the beneficent author of wholesome improvement. For natives who joined it and survived until full discharge after twenty-five years in Roman citizenship and the privileges of a veteran then received were very likely only outward symbols of an enhanced status and transformed way of life. For the rest, and it will have been the majority, the imposing taxes and the demands of the nearby Roman army may have been the instrument, at the same year after year and decade after decade.

The extent of slave labour, that galling gulshing feature of Greco-Roman civilization is hard to assess in either agriculture or commerce. The households of the nobles, it will appear, functioned with domestic slaves in commerce and manufacturing they appear prominent. What has for some passed as a talism in classical antiquity is inferred from a new wealth of a freed slave, advertised through a funeral monument.

For all this and much more one must read hard through a closely argued text. Moreover, while Roman Belgica is far from being a source of anecdote and colour what there is might have been better exploited. There are than a passing reference ought surely to have been made to the inscription (once completed now lost) recording the will of an aristocrat of the Lingones in south Belgica. The testament of this Roman citizen drawn up around AD 100 included the most precise instructions for the design, building, contents and subsequent maintenance of his mausoleum. Among the tomb furnishings his statue was to be of the finest imported marble or the best "tableted" bronze. In front, the funeral altar was to be made of the finest Luna (Carrara) stone and with the finest-quality carved ornament. The memorial and its surrounding park were to be maintained by his freed slaves, and three landscape gardeners and their apprentices were to be permanently employed. Stern penalties were threatened against those who sought to introduce other burials. Subscriptions from his heirs and freedmen were to pay the cost of an annual feast in his memory and the custodians were bound to perform sacrifices at the altar on less than six times in a year between April and October. In the matter of the tomb contents the will requires that it contain all his hunting and fowling equipment: "lance, spear, hunting-knives, snares, traps, lime twigs, cast, scarecrows, bathing utensils, litter, sedan chair, all medicines and equipment of the science, a rush-work Liburnian boat – nothing omitted – also all damasks and embroideries. These remarkable prescriptions and catalogues are properly registered through the formula of a Roman testament. The material and content are more suggestive of the great princely graves from five or six centuries before than of the modest and dignified sepulchre of a genuine Roman.

Gallia Belgica is a fitting memorial to a scholar whose tragic death two years ago was a great blow to her many friends on both sides of the Atlantic. A graduate of St Andrews, Edith Mary Wightman began study of Gaul at Oxford with the encouragement of C. B. Stephenson. The text was all but complete at the time of her death and has been prepared for the press by her friends and colleagues at McMaster University. For years to come it will recall the slender and rather severe figure familiar to many conferences and similar gatherings through the 1960s and '70s. Its scholarship is manifest, the argument and analysis clearly deployed throughout. It is the work of a teacher and will serve to sustain her for years to come.

Entre chien et loup

Evening is halogen and cobalt, hunger and nerves, an objectless desire,

jealousy, enthrallment, freedom; small disturbances before the train home.

And the word "attrition" is the smell of oxidized sulphur in the tunnel

of disguised pornography. We are haggard with frustration, and the sky

has gone more wolf than dog in the interim. I glide into a bar and out of harm . . .

In the Rendezvous des Belges there's a man my veering mind does well to rest on;

a man of substance, with his leg braised back and his elbows on the zinc, a man of stomach

and slow time, savouring a lager from the flatlands. They are north of here,

flinty plains and market towns, where the sun at evening is an inflammation

that lasts for hours. The place was home for Emma Bovary, a flawless boredom

on which her little sulks were lost and all her niceties turned to dust

She was useful as a scarecrow, an elegant figure in a field of plough

craving *Passion! Félicité! Délire!*, a steamy-arrival at the Gare du Nord

where my stick-in-the-mud will take his train. I watch him check and pocket his change.

Exulting in that huge equilibrium, I get up when he leaves and follow him.

STEPHEN KOMAR

The dangers of superfluity

Eva Gillies

ANTHONY D. BUCKLEY
Yoruba Medicine
275pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. £25.
019 8232543

Having chosen to study Yoruba medicine as practised in Ibadan, western Nigeria, Anthony D. Buckley found himself at the outset faced with familiar problems. It was simple enough to decide to concentrate on traditional herbalist healers, excluding both Western medicine with its attendant quacks and the various Christian and Muslim religiously based therapies. But the traditional herbalists did not agree with each other; each kept the composition of his medicines a closely guarded secret; initiation came expensive; an attempt, in time-honoured ethnographic fashion, to serve an apprenticeship with a healer came to nothing. "I donated a half bottle of gin," says Buckley succinctly, "and left." No ethnographer of the Yoruba can fail to sympathize.

In the end, Buckley decided to work through formal interviews, over a long period, with a few selected informants. In so doing, he deliberately turned his back on the classic approach of English social anthropology. We learn nothing in this book about the patients, their social situation, their relationship with the healer or the involvement of kin or residential groups – only about the ideas on health, illness and medicine of two individual healers, plus a few comments from other informants standing, as it were, in the wings.

This unorthodox method works very well, partly because of the essentially naturalistic Yoruba notions of health and illness. With the important exceptions of smallpox and a particular type of insanity, explanations are not of

a kind that requires knowledge of the patient's relationships with either men or gods. But also, Buckley, well aware of what he is doing, approaches his subject intelligently and conscientiously; and – having chosen to use individual informants – lets them speak for themselves. We come to know the gentle, philosophical Fatoogun and the robustly sceptical Adebawo very well indeed; and to share the author's respect for them, for their frequent differences of opinion and the (often unformulated) assumptions they share. It is with these assumptions that Buckley is mainly concerned.

Yoruba healers in general believe that much everyday illness (gonorrhoea, headache) is caused by the overflowing of small worms or bugs from the "bags" that, in health, contain them within the body. These creatures are thought to be too small to be seen. Buckley speaks of an indigenous "germ theory", but the important idea is that of a container overflowing, which is associated not only with excess but with the revelation of what should remain hidden. The same idea is expressed in terms of colour: in health, red and white matter is safely contained within the black human skin; in illness, red and white are either inappropriately revealed (as light-coloured blotches or rashes on the skin, as white discharges or semen unnaturally expelled from the womb), or the colours are confounded, as when menstrual blood, red in health, becomes either watery-white or thick and blackish. Even the "normal" revelation of menstrual blood, though necessary, is on this theory dangerous; but in conception, red menstrual blood is held to combine with white semen within the safe concealment of the black female body, to produce a healthy child.

Buckley combines these notions into a series of "images", set up in classic dichotomous fashion – health/illness, hidden/revealed, etc –

though he is careful to point out that he does not regard these contrasted pairs as the only possible way to present his data. Once constructed, however, the parallel lists display their usual power to organize, perhaps polarize, information: the left hand is used for medicine as the right is for food; even Ifa divination, the Ogboni society and what the author calls "the delights of Yoruba number symbolism" are found amenable to dualistic classification. And – if health lies in restraint and containment, yet both requires and is endangered by a degree of revelation – well, there are other containers besides the human body: the earth itself, whose lateritic redness is, in health, masked by the vital thin layer of black topsoil; the inward-looking compound that houses the men of a lineage (but if the lineage is to endure, women must, at whatever risk, be allowed to move between compounds); even the cooking-pot, which must not overflow or (so an informant impressively hints) the order of the universe will be imperilled.

And so the successive articulations build up into a fully fledged Kuhnian paradigm – one which, Buckley claims, is valid for much if not all of the Yoruba world-view. It may be so: the god who brings smallpox and its associated madness can be made to fit in pretty well, and so can both the secrecy of Ogboni and the carefully measured revelations of Ifa. Sometimes, however, as in the discussion of palm-tree symbolism, the new-minted paradigm seems, already, a little strained. As it stands it is undoubtedly elegant; it may also have continuing heuristic value. But – as Buckley himself notes in describing the "perfect little nuts" used in divination – aesthetic perfection, however much we instinctively feel it to be related to logical perfection, does not guarantee it. Meanwhile, however, *Yoruba Medicine*



Traditional African dancers; reproduced from *African Pop Roots: The inside rhythms of Africa* by John Collins (120pp. W. Foulsham, Yeovil Road, Slough, SL1 4JH. Paperback, £5.50. 057201150 4).

is a lively, jargon-free book which, for all its vaulting philosophical ambition, is recognizably about real healers using herbal medicines to cure real patients. It even contains over fifty pages of actual recipes to back up the theory. Perhaps the greatest merit of Buckley's paradigm is that, so far from flattening the Yoruba into a boring sameness, it enables them to differ from one another as fascinatingly and infuriatingly as their ethnographers have always found them to do.

Myths and movements

J. S. La Fontaine

WIM VAN BINSBERGEN and MATTHEW SCHOFFELEERS (Editors)
Theoretical Explorations in African Religion
389pp. Kegan Paul International. £30.
07103 00492

E. THOMAS LAWSON
Religions of Africa: Traditions in transformation
106pp. Harper and Row. £4.95.
006065211 X

Over the past twenty years there has been a remarkable expansion of anthropological writing on religion. A volume that took stock of this development, even if limited to Africa, would have been very welcome. *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion*, however, is not the book. Its title, and Wim van Binsbergen and Matthew Schoffeleers' enumeration of the aims of the conference in Leiden in 1979 at which the papers they have edited for publication were presented, raise unfulfilled hopes. The "explorations" never cross the frontiers of a rather narrow parochialism. The papers refer in the main to central Africa, from Zaïre to Zimbabwe. One from an outlying region, Kenya, serves to link the main group with the two papers which fall outside it, both geographically and in subject-matter: these deal with Islam, in Senegal and Tunisia – but their inclusion hardly justifies the implication of continental coverage in the book's title. The work's intellectual limitations, however, constitute its most serious defect. For this, the editors must take much of the responsibility. They complain that the field of students of African religion is small, but they are clearly unaware of its full range.

The various topics addressed converge on two themes: the *rapprochement* between history and anthropology, and a post-Levi-Straussian concern with the social specificity of meaning. Two papers, by the editors, address the old problem of the historical content of myth and come to rather different conclusions. Schoffeleers demonstrates the historical significance of a Malawian myth but admits that his analysis would have been impossible without the aid of independent documentary

evidence from Portuguese sources. Van Binsbergen's intricate analysis of a Tunisian myth ultimately reveals information of local, but limited, historical interest. In their introduction the editors remark that their results raise the question how events become encoded in myth, but they do not seem to have pursued the point.

Some papers are written by historians rather than anthropologists. Terence Ranger reviews the evidence on the Myvat cult in Zimbabwe in the light of new theories about it in particular and general interpretations of regional cults. Christian Coulon is concerned to demonstrate the convergence of two interpretations of the role of prophets in nineteenth-century Senegal and proposes an alternative which, he argues, is closer to the evidence – although most of that evidence is from secondary sources. Robert Bultjens also criticizes existing interpretations of a religious movement in Kenya, Didi Ya Mambwa. Like Coulon, he claims that J. Bachelier's idea of the counter-society is the most useful in understanding such reactions to social change. Neither of them, however, does much more than alter the classification of such phenomena, without making clear what intellectual gains result.

The influence of history can be seen yet again in the emphasis on the analysis of texts, whether these are written (John M. Janzen) or merely the product of the investigator with a tape-recorder (Johannes Fabian). Their papers, and Wautlier de Mahieu's on two apparently unrelated myths, demonstrate the wealth of meaning that lies beneath the textual surface. They reveal the shallowness of much structuralist analysis and of research which looks for information rather than meaning. Semantic analysis is also the approach chosen by André Droogers in one of the two papers which is not a case-study. His plea for eclecticism does not, as the editors observe, prevent him from making a choice among theories. Yet, as so often, the study of meaning falls to relate it to social action or to take into consideration structures of power and changing power relations. One can only agree with the editors that the study of meaning cannot fill the intellectual vacuum left by the discarding of functionalism and its modern variant, neo-Marxism, on the one hand, and Lévi-

Straussian structuralism on the other. Not that the editors offer any satisfactory solution either.

This lack of progress stems directly from a failure to appreciate a crucial dilemma which confronts all such studies. Comparative social analysis balances uneasily between the development of techniques to deepen understanding of specific instances and the aim of producing statements of general applicability. Dealing with theoretical and methodological problems means concentrating on the relations between these two poles of understanding. As might have been expected from the pre-eminence of historical and semantic analysis and also from the multidisciplinary approach, the papers in this collection largely focus on particularities; they demonstrate the case for detailed analysis, with a scrupulous attention to contextualization in time and place, and sensitivity to the manner in which meaning is actualized in language and interaction. The two general reviews (Renaat Devish and Droogers) are no more successful in relating specifics to wider theoretical concerns than the efforts of Coulon and Bultjens to hitch their particular wagons to a distant theoretical star. It is left to the editors to set these contributions in a framework which displays their theoretical and methodological significance. The editorial introduction manifestly fails to do this. It is long (nearly forty pages) and self-indulgent, attempting to pre-empt the reviewer's role by providing critical summaries of the papers but without addressing itself to the broader issues. Wyatt MacGaffey's 1972 paper is cited in connection with historical investigation and the comparative methodology it sets out is ignored; the relevance of Richard P. Werbner's study of local variation of poly-ethnic Churches and their relation to an earlier cult of the High God in the region is dismissed with a trivial, punning, in-joke. By convening the conference in the form it took, van Binsbergen and Schoffeleers raised questions which they now set aside rather than answer; arranging the contributors on a diagram representing the intersection of two axes is no substitute for serious discussion of the issues, even if new answers are hard to find.

The clarity of E. Thomas Lawson's response to one of these questions in his *Religions of*

Africa: Traditions in transformation is appealing by comparison, although in the end it is badly misleading, however unintentionally. Faced with the question of whether there is a "uniquely African religion" (van Binsbergen and Schoffeleers, p.3), he opts for the strategy of referring in general terms to great variety but aiming for depth, rather than breadth of coverage, by presenting two case-studies. His choice of the Zulu and the Yoruba for detailed treatment implies their representativeness, but inevitably neglects several elements which are widespread but happen not to occur in these two areas. In some cases, like that of spirit-possession, there is a good literature which justifies a mention it does not get; in others, like that of royal rituals and periodic festivals which celebrated and enhanced political roles, the omission is much more serious; since both Zulu and Yoruba offer examples of these. Professor Lawson's account presents religion as the world-view of the ordinary person, an ethnocentric approach characteristic of the West. While he shows familiarity with the methods of (some) anthropologists, he has not understood their intellectual position and tends to treat their writing as a mere repository of "facts". He pays lip-service to the widespread and early influence of Islam in Africa but goes on to present the transformation of traditional religion as the effect of its interaction with Christianity. His readers cannot be blamed if they end up believing that Aladura Churches are the modern version of Yoruba religion, not realizing that some Yoruba individuals are Muslims and some belong to a whole spectrum of Christian Churches, and that some rely on a variety of ritual techniques while still others are nearly agnostic. There is no modern entity that can be labelled Yoruba religion, and the problem of understanding religious change is more complex than Professor Lawson appears to recognize.

Olatunde O. Olatunji's *Features of Yoruba Poetry* (267pp. University Press, Ibadan, distributed by Oxford University Press. £13. 0 19 575306 2) contains sections on Yoruba praise poetry, Ifa divination poetry, Yoruba incantations, proverbial expressions and riddles; there is a section on the general features of Yoruba verse and an extensive bibliography.

The reader to determine

A. J. Minnis

JESSE M. GELLRICH
The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages:
Language theory, mythology, and fiction
292pp. Cornell University Press. \$27.50.
08014 1722 8

Jesse M. Gellrich's ambitious and sometimes overreaching book seeks to build on the work of scholars like Huizinga, Auerbach, Curtius, Singleton and Robertson, who have helped to assess the place of literature among the various cultural forms of the Middle Ages. It also sets out to reconsider the grounds on which this position may be established in the light of structuralist and post-structuralist theories of language and literature. The result is one of the most successful attempts yet to apply contemporary literary theory to medieval poetry.

In a way which is exhilarating, but on occasion exasperating, the earlier chapters move from the text as consumable object, God's Word, and Nature (in all its medieval senses) to what Dr Gellrich terms "the medieval Text of cultural forms", from authentically medieval notions of mythography and fiction to mythology as the "storehouse of a culture's lore", including religious doctrine (here following Lévi-Strauss). One wonders if such an imposition of many senses both medieval and modern produces not "a galaxy of possibilities for meaning" but rather confusion. Is this not to reiterate Babel instead of coping with its consequences?

Yet, however much one longs to prune the

author's hyperbolic terminology, and however much detail one may want to add and argue over, his enthusiasm is infectious. Moreover, as an expositor of medieval semantic ideas Gellrich is often sharp and stimulating, as when the bones of "speculative grammar" are made to live. Previous interpretative models which reduce rather than illuminate are firmly rejected: for instance, he will have no part of Robertsonian pan-allegorizing. The Bible is very different from medieval fiction, Gellrich declares, because the latter specializes in doubt – an excellent example being afforded by Chaucer's *House of Fame*, which is read as "a work of provocative experiments in structure, authority, and the determinacy of meaning". Analysis of the "reading episode" of Paolo and Francesca in Canto Five of the *Inferno* has become *de rigueur* among medievalists schooled in contemporary literary theory, but Gellrich's approach, which rests on the premiss that Dante's language is "interpretive rather than mimetic", is quite fresh. The significance of the *Comedy* is located not in its identity with Holy Writ (which is polysemous because divinely inspired) but in its distance from it: "this book is not a copy of the heavenly Logos, but only an effort to discover it". The *House of Fame* also is supposed to be concerned with the problem of the authority of linguistic signification, but there it is the difficulties of finding fixed centres of reference that are revealed, and left unresolved.

Somewhat less convincing is the view that the prologue to Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* is a deliberately self-undermining narrative which often fails to "make complete and convenient sense of what we read", this

being the basis of the pleasure it gives to the readers who, unlike the God of Love, can appreciate the "value of indeterminate form". And the final chapter, which reaches towards *The Canterbury Tales*, is disappointing. To take up a single point from it, there, as elsewhere in Gellrich's book, Plato's *Timaeus*, which had its medieval vogue in the twelfth century, is afforded a validity which it certainly did not possess in later centuries when Aristotle held sway. This is a symptom of the book's tendency to see medieval aesthetics as a single seamless web, thereby simplifying the diversity, crises and revolutions in ideology which characterize that period.

Gellrich is concerned to find indeterminate meaning at all costs, but surely what medieval texts usually offer is a range of semantic possibilities, each of which is fixed to a considerable extent, rather than indeterminacy in the contemporary sense of the term. How, then, should literary deviations from the medieval norms be regarded? Not as indeterminacy, I suspect, but rather as carefully limited subversion, or indeed as reversal and inversion, a

good example being Chaucer's "deviations" of Dido, Cleopatra, Phyllis and other women he chooses to portray as "Celtic saints". In this and similar invocations against the grain, the rules of the game are still the world, and, as everyone knows, norms shall be reinstated when the game is over. Critics of *The House of Fame* and *Legend of Good Women* should, in my opinion, be looking to Bakhtin and not to, say, early Barthes.

If the hypothesis that "historical factors deeply embedded in language" is correct, it follows that those historical factors which full description in their large dimensions and fine details. However talented the deconstructionist may be, he cannot understand the textuality unless he pays careful attention to specific contextuality. *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages* has achieved much, for all due credit should be rendered, but the issues it raises merit fuller consideration which is a mark of their great importance to medievalists.

Laws against learning

D. E. Luscombe

STEPHEN C. FERRUOLO
The Origins of the University: The schools of Paris and their critics, 1100-1215
380pp. Stanford University Press. \$45.
08047 1266 2

In the twelfth century Paris was the foremost educational centre in Europe, but it attracted many critics. *The Origins of the University* focuses on the careers and the work of these critics. Stephen Ferruolo argues that their educational ideals – their belief in the unity of knowledge, in the need to share learning freely and willingly, and in the higher purposes and the social importance of education – first inspired the scholars of Paris to join together to form a single guild and thereby create the first true university. To establish this claim, he has to refute two other possible explanations (he calls them myths): that the university developed in order to meet diverse utilitarian and professional needs; and that it was established by scholars in order to secure their freedom from the control of local authorities. As regards the last explanation, Ferruolo is probably right and certainly thorough in showing that conflict with the diocesan authorities was not the reason for the emergence of a corporation. As regards the former, he argues skillfully and at length that the masters did not pursue a utilitarian approach, which would have led them to set up specialized guilds for medicine, law, arts and theology. Rather, a professional awareness of common values was the reason why the masters formed one university.

This is an important and informative study in which, however, the significance of the warnings of critics of the schools against specialization and narrow professionalism has been exaggerated. Ferruolo rightly observes that leading monastic critics such as Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St-Thierry rivalled the most prominent masters in respect of learning and scholarship; monks had not ceased to matter in the world of learning after 1100. Many of them wanted to convert scholars into monks, and many renowned masters in the schools, like Odo of Soissons and Alan of Lille, did transfer from their positions in the schools to the monastic life. But the attempt by Bernard of Clairvaux in 1148 to demolish the teachings of Master Gilbert Porreta is in fact the last serious challenge by monastic spokesmen to the schools. The authorities in the Church more and more backed the scholars. It is easier to suggest than it is to prove that the religious orders in the twelfth century, by struggling to keep secular studies out of the cloister and by remaining uninvolved in the work of the schools, contributed to rather than retarded the formation of the university.

Other critics of the schools were satirists and humanists. The satirists found a common theme in the decline of learning. Since the law

has reigned, the arts are useless", wrote William of Châtillon. The arts may be called liberal, they destroy the body, weary the mind and lead to no material benefit. The poor scholar was sent not so much an ideal as a genuine problem. Humanists also complained about the decline of learning. John of Salisbury believed that only the excellence of the training given by masters as capable as William of Conches, Peter Abelard, Thierry and Bernard of Chartres had enabled the arts to survive vocationalist challenge; but Abelard was exiled in Paris by dialecticians, flawed by specialization. As for the lawyers, Gratian of Bologna reported the view expressed in Paris: "the days will come when law will obtain the knowledge of letters". Only John drew men to the study of law, said Peter Blois: vanity and ambition. The humanists, however, had mainly withdrawn from the schools; by and large their writings were used there, so it is questionable whether masters drew back from over-specialization as a result of their publication.

There remains another group of critics: teachers themselves, who are considered only on account of the sermons composed by the theologians among them. Sermons were doubtless an important source of knowledge about the moral guidance given to students. Theology masters had to preach as well as to teach courses. Ferruolo studies the sermons of the second half of the twelfth century with care and to advantage but overlooks the other positions of these masters, and in particular the prefaces they provided. In spite of the biases of the humanists and others, a long list of teachers continued to make study in Paris popular after Abelard's day and at the expense of other urban centres. The formation of the university was primarily the achievement of the masters themselves, not of their critics, and they did not define their ambitions only in the pulpit. Because Ferruolo is here concerned with the positive achievements of the schools, he undervalues the positive achievements of the critics in transmitting knowledge. Albert of Mont, Robert of Melun, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, Peter of Poitiers, Peter the Chanter and many others offered far more than criticism or objects for criticism.

However, when Ferruolo finally attempts the "institutional" changes that took place shortly before and after 1200 and which transformed the schools into the university, he is convincing in analysis and successful in his use of the respective contributions made by the masters and by external authorities. As for the status provided in 1215 by Pope Gregory IX, the status would have pleased John of Salisbury because of the wide range of books required to be studied in each of the seven liberal arts. For the same reason, however, he would also have pleased Hugh of St-Victor: very great teacher whose abbey had been required to be in the mainstream of scholarship in Paris but whose ideals had been both undervalued and widely misunderstood.

Avenues and escalators

Dorothy Galton

THOMAS D. SEELEY
Honeybee Ecology: A study of adaptation in social life
201pp. Guildford: Princeton University Press.
£28.40 (paperback, £10.50).
0691 08391 6

In its author's words *Honeybee Ecology* aims "to reduce the imbalance between physiological and ecological study of honeybee social life" by focusing "on how honeybees live in nature and why their social organization has the design that it does". Thomas B. Seeley concludes that the social system is "not one of a despotic queen ceaselessly dominating the reproduction of thousands of worker-daughters, but rather one of workers themselves benefiting by providing for the well-being of their queen, the individual whose reproduction provides the best avenue for propagating their genes". The queen benefits from the altruistic acts of worker-daughters, a notion which my unscientific turn of mind accepts with difficulty.

There are no native honeybees in the Americas; all have been imported from Europe over the past 400 years. Italian bees (*Apis mellifera ligustica*) predominating. In order to find bees of as nearly pure breed as possible, Seeley worked with feral honeybees in woods around Ithaca, NY, but he cites many other sources, mostly American and West German, in thirty-two pages at the end of the book. Nine chapters bring together recent research, including the author's own, on reproduction, nest-building, food collection, communication systems, and many of the points are illustrated in graphs and designs. A final chapter draws some interesting comparisons between the social organization of the bees studied and those of tropical countries – *A.m. scutellaria*, formerly *Adansonii*, the African bee, and Indian bees which the

author has studied in Thailand.

In my view many behavioural traits in bees which have only recently been scientifically explained were known to our earliest ancestors, who raided nests in tree-holes or on trees for the sweet honey, giving rise to mystical beliefs of which some still persist. In ancient India, for instance, or where *A. florea* nests could be watched on trees at eye level, bee dances could be seen because they are conducted in the open on the flat top of the nest. Early laws (of Ireland, for example) record that the bee owner had to follow his swarms if he was to lay claim to them as his, so that he had some idea of the distances bees might fly; and a beekeeper could watch bees on flowers and know that they collected coloured material on their bodies where it is visible (pollen), though the problem of nectar and its conversion into honey would remain much more mysterious. All kinds of knowledge of a visible kind relating to honeybees, as to other animal life, must have been handed on from generation to generation until some of it was written down by Aristotle and other Greek and Roman writers on natural history.

So those who have worked with honeybees will find in this book confirmation and explanations of many characteristics with which they are familiar (though they will be surprised to learn that bees' flight distances are greater than is normally supposed). Attempts to explain (and, alas, to change, for example by artificial insemination) bee behaviour are of comparatively recent origin, many dating only from the present century: communication systems (bee dances, odours, sounds), mating behaviour of queens and drones etc. It has been easier to study flying bees (foragers, twenty-three days old) than in younger honeybees working within a hole or hive. As the author says, worker honeybees are "organized into largely non-overlapping age groups, each of which handles a distinct set of tasks" (a val-



A paper wasp's nest in construction; reproduced from *Insects in Camera* by Christopher O'Toole, with photographs by Ken Preston-Mafham (194pp. Oxford University Press. £14.95. 0 19217694 3).

able set of diagrams illustrates this on page 33); and of the period from birth up to eleven days Seeley tells us that "further studies at the level of individual honeybees are needed to understand the importance of nest architecture and spatial efficiency in shaping the honeybee's age polyethism schedule" (behavioural change with age). A problem which is not mentioned is that there is not only a shift in bees' activities, but also in the populations engaged in these activities, since each bee is to a greater or lesser extent younger than the one preceding her. The narrative misses the dynamics, the rhythmic movement of the bee nest, which can be likened to a series of three escalators, with crowds pushing in at the top and moving out at the bottom on to the next one.

There are indexes of authors and by subject (but in the latter the name Nasonov is twice wrongly spelt, though it is correct in the text). In the list of sources, two Russian authors could have been included – E. K. Es'kov and S. A. Popravko, some of whose papers on sound communication in honeybees and on the composition of propolis respectively are available in English translation from the International Bee Research Association.

Boreal and boggy

Richard Hornby

OLEG POLUNIN and MARTIN WALTERS
A Guide to the Vegetation of Britain and Europe
288pp. Oxford University Press. £17.50.
0192177133

Oleg Polunin, Martin Walters and Oxford University Press deserve some congratulation on their bold attempt to present an attractive and readable account of the vegetation of Europe. There are 110 superb colour photographs of habitats with very informative captions, large numbers of maps and nicely drawn diagrams, and outline drawings of nearly 1,000 of the more distinctive species of the European flora.

One cannot, however, pretend that *A Guide to the Vegetation of Britain and Europe* has been a total success. In attempting to attract different sectors of the market, the book may fall to satisfy any of them. As an academic exercise in vegetation classification it falls down badly because the coverage of both vegetation types and species is too patchy. The classification has not been derived by objective treatment of hard data. It is rather a subjective distillation of the authors' wide experience. Particularly as there is no summary of the classification, or key to vegetation types, serious botanists will find it difficult to locate the section closest to a particular type, or references to affinities with other types, or other parts of Europe. The academic use of the book is also seriously limited by the lack of references to synonyms in other more rigorous works.

If it is not meant for the expert, perhaps it may meet the needs of the travelling naturalist, enabling him to put a name to a few more of the species he comes across on his holidays, but other books will be needed in support because this one makes no concessions to families or identification features. There is a fair chance, furthermore, that it will not cover or even allude to the vegetation of the region that the British tourist may choose to visit. There are many omissions in the range of plant communities, particularly in the more artificial habitats of the natural communities are comprehensive.

ly reviewed, but most of the surface of Europe receives barely a mention.

The *Guide* has a section on National Parks and Nature Reserves, so we may be forgiven for thinking that its main purpose is to review European vegetation and direct the reader to good examples of each type. Unfortunately this is where it comes most seriously unstuck. There are no cross-references between the text, the plates and the list of National Parks and reserves. The only indication of vegetation within these areas is very brief and highly generalized, with very few references to species. The list is sadly unrelated to the text in any way, and gives the impression of having been lifted verbatim from elsewhere.

British vegetation appears as little more than an afterthought in the section on "Atlantic" vegetation which stretches from Portugal to Norway and includes most of France. The primary division into climatic regions has not worked well and makes the information less accessible. The way that vegetation types transcend climatic zones suggests that another approach might have been tried. Most of the references to British woodland, for example, are not to be found in the Atlantic section but under Central European vegetation because of

the wide geographical range of the main tree species. A more worrying problem is that Scottish and Irish peatlands receive barely a mention because they are akin to the Boreal mires of northern Scandinavia, but the Boreal climate zone is not considered to extend as far as the British Isles. It may be that on a continental scale our upland mires are merely impoverished outliers, but such an approach is hardly likely to appeal to the British book-buying public. The treatment of lowland unimproved meadows and calcareous grassland is so sparse as to defy all but the most assiduous searchers. Also notably lacking are any references to the effect of management history, eg. coppicing, on our woodland flora. As the serious botanist is unlikely to be satisfied it is a pity that more effort was not made to appeal to the wider non-specialist audience. The inclusion of mosses, while the treatment of higher plants is so uneven, serves to emphasize how the book falls far short of production is very high; it is copiously illustrated and the text is accurate and almost free of irritating errors. The classification of vegetation in an area as large and diverse as Europe is an incredibly ambitious undertaking which few botanists would have dared to attempt.

On the desert air

Matthew Jebb

HAZIM S. DAOUD and ALI AL-RAWI
Flora of Kuwait
Volume One: Dicotyledonae
224pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. \$45.
07103 0075 1

The last *Flora of Kuwait* to be produced was nothing but a small pamphlet, regarded by David Frodin (*Critical Guide to the Floras of the World*) as "a singularly miscellaneous work". This new *Flora*, mainly compiled by the late Hazim Daoud, Professor of Taxonomy at Kuwait University, is both thorough and concise, although its value must depend upon how quickly Volume Two can be produced.

After Dr Daoud's death, Ali Al-Rawi found that none of the original specimens remained in the herbarium; and he was obliged to prepare a new comprehensive collection.

The line drawings have lost definition in the reproduction, but there are a great number of excellent colour photographs, taken by Daoud. The unfocused backgrounds of these, pipelines, oilwells and oilfires and banks of shifting sands, well illustrate the problems of collecting in such a country.

Information on desert flora is at present scant, yet the number of people who live in desert regions, and the rapid rate of "desertification" makes it increasingly valuable. Botanically this is a scholarly and impressive work, and it is to be hoped that it will encourage further productions from the University of Kuwait.

INDEX OF BOOKS REVIEWED

- Aaron, Daniel (Editor). *The Inman Diary: A public and private confession* 41
- Adam, Jan. *Employment and Wage Policies in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary since 1950* 31
- All, Tarla. *The Nehrus and the Gandhis: An Indian dynasty* 30
- Baxter, John, and Laurence Koffman. *Police: The constitution and the community* 29
- Berend, Ivan T., and György Ranki. *The Hungarian Economy in the Twentieth Century* 31
- Binsbergen, Wim van, and Matthew Schoffeleers (Editors). *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion* 45
- Brink, André. *The Ambassador* 35
- Bucholz, Arden. *Hans Delbrück and the German Military Establishment: War images in conflict* 32
- Buckley, Anthony D. *Yoruba Medicine* 45
- Clark, Anthony M. *Pompeo Batori: A complete catalogue of his works with an introductory text* 40
- Daoud, Hazim S., and Ali Al-Rawi. *Flora of Kuwait: Volume 1: Dicotyledonae* 47
- Delat, Wilhelm (Editor). *The German Military in the Age of Total War* 32
- Eakin, Paul John. *Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the art of self-invention* 42
- Ferruolo, Stephen C. *The Origins of the University: The schools of Paris and their critics, 1100-1215* 46
- Frame, Janet. *The Envoy from Mirror City: Autobiography* 3 42
- Fuller, John. *The Adventures of Speedfall* 35
- Fürer-Hallmendorf, C. von. *Tribal Populations and Cultures of the Indian Subcontinent* 30
- Geary, Roger. *Policing Industrial Disputes: 1893-1985* 29
- Gellrich, Jesse M. *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language theory, mythology and fiction* 46
- Golnerko, O. A., S. A. Rozanova, B. M. Shumova, I. A. Pukhravskaya and N. I. Azarova (Editors). *The Diaries of Sofia Tolstaya* 42
- Harman, Mark (Editor). *Robert Walser Rediscovered: Stories, fairy-tale plays, and critical responses* 33
- Hesche, Peter. *Gesammelte Werke* 33
- Kesson, Jennie. *Where the Apple Ripens* 35
- Kocks, Jürgen. *Facing Total War: German Society 1914-1918* 32
- Lapidge, Michael, and Helmut Gneuss (Editors). *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday* 45pp. Cambridge University Press. £45. 0 521 25022 9
- Lawson, E. Thomas. *Religions of Africa: Traditions in transformation* 45
- Loader, Colin. *The Intellectual Development of Karl Mannheim: Culture, politics, and planning* 27
- McCabe, Brian. *The Lipstick Circus* 35
- Mallon, Thomas. *A Book of One's Own: People and their diaries* 41
- Maschev, Sergei. *The Age of the Crowd: A historical treatise on mass psychology* 28
- Murray, Williamson. *Luftwaffe* 32
- Nanda, B. R. *The Nehrus: Motilal and Jawaharlal* 30
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. *Glimpses of World History* 30
- O'Neill, John. *Five Bodies: The human shape of modern society* 28
- Patersen, Alasdair. *The Floating World: Selected poems 1973-1982* 34
- Polunin, Oleg, and Martin Walters. *A Guide to the Vegetation of Britain and Europe* 47
- Reading, Peter. *Ukelele Music: Poems* 34
- Reiner, Robert. *The Politics of the Police* 29
- Ribeiro, Alleen. *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture* 40
- Seeley, Thomas D. *Honeybee ecology: A study of adaptation in social life* 47
- Stack, Paul. *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* 43
- Spencer, Sarah. *Called to Account: The case for police accountability in England and Wales* 29
- Stevens, Anne. *The Pictorial-Makers* 34
- Swain, Nigel. *Collective Farm Which Work?* 31
- Walker, Robert. *Aus dem Eleisingscheit: Mikrogramme 1924-25* 33
- Wightman, Edith Mary. *Gallia Belgica* 44
- Wilson, John. *Fairfax: A life of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, Captain-General of all the Parliament's forces in the English Civil War, creator and Commander of the New Model Army* 43
- Young, Peter. *Naseby 1645: The campaign and the battle* 43
- Zaret, David. *The Heavenly Contract: Ideology and Organisation in Pre-Revolutionary Puritanism* 43